This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

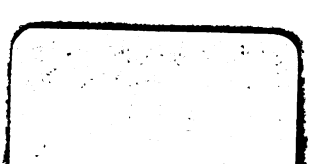
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

National magazine

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

7-1AA
National

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

W. J. Phelps.

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
269029
ASTOR, LENOX AND TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
R 1903 L

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XIX. NOVEMBER, 1893. NO. 1.

SIR DANVERS OSBORN AND SIR CHARLES HARDY.

1753–1761. *

THE OSBORN ARMS.

WEDNESDAY, October 10, 1753, was a notable day in the history of colonial New-York. It marked the close of an administration longer than any since the days of Stuyvesant, and one that, toward the end, had become offensive to the people of city and province. On that day Sir Danvers Osborn appeared before the retiring governor, George Clinton, and the council, and, after reading his commission from King George II., took the oath of office as governor. Then, while this ceremony was occurring within doors, the preparations for the more public induction into his office were also being made. Upon the "Parade" before the fort, on the site of what we know as Bowling Green to-day, were assembling the mayor of the city with the other officers of the corporation and the aldermen and assistant aldermen; in another group were gathered the officers of the militia or train-bands, the clergymen, and other gentlemen belonging to professional or mercantile circles. Ere long this imposing assembly of dignity and worth heard the beating of drums behind the walls of the fort, the gate was thrown open, and, preceded by a company of foot, the retiring governor, arm-in-arm with his successor, and followed by the members of the royal council, marched forth on the way to the City Hall. The procession, completed by the accession of the city dignitaries and the other waiting groups of prominent citizens, defiled up the hill from the parade ground into Broadway, whose sides were lined by a great concourse of people. Flags waved from private houses, and win-

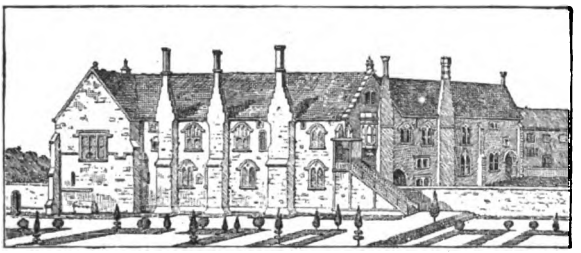
* From "The Memorial History of New York."

Digitized by Google

dows and roofs were crowded with spectators. Wheeling to the right as Wall street was reached, the procession descended the slight declivity, halting before the City Hall and forming in two lines, the governors passed between into the building, whence the commission of Sir Danvers was read in the hearing of the assembled people. No sooner was this done than cannon boomed and all the church bells of the town began to ring. It was indeed a gala-day throughout: when night descended bonfires cast a ruddy glare from several street corners, and colored lamps adorned the houses of the more elegant and decorous citizens. Then there was feasting and banqueting, as there had already been for some days before.

Danvers Osborn.

Sir Danvers Osborn was born at the family seat of Chicksands Priory, county of Bedford, on November 17, 1715, and was thus in the thirty-eighth year of his age when he took charge of the government of New-York. He came of a family which held by inheritance positions of trust near the king's person from the days of Edward VI. Some of these functionaries were knighted, but in 1662 the bearer of the name and of the office was created a baronet. Sir Danvers succeeded his grandfather at the early age of five, his father having died before the latter. He thus became the third baronet, while his representative and



BIRTHPLACE OF SIR DANVERS OSBORN *

* The south-east view of Chicksands Priory, in the county of Bedford, birthplace of Sir Danvers Osborn, Bart., as it appeared in 1730.

Digitized by Google

descendant to-day, Sir Algernon, is the seventh in succession. The mother of Sir Danvers was a remarkable woman. She is known in history as the Honorable Mrs. Sarah Osborn, as on account of her husband's premature death she did not acquire the title of Lady Osborn. She was the daughter of Admiral Sir George Byng, afterward (1721) created Viscount Torrington, and sister of that unfortunate Admiral Byng, who was shot in 1757 for "error in judgment" in retreating before the French at Minorca. According to Macaulay, there seem to be strong reasons to suspect that he was sacrificed for political considerations. His sister, Mrs. Osborn, made every possible effort to move the king to exercise that mercy which the court-martial recommended, but in vain. His last letter was to her, and she also sacredly preserved a note of Voltaire's to the Admiral, inclosing a letter to him of the Duke of Richelieu, the commander of the French fleet, exonerating his opponent from all blame, inasmuch as the forces at his command were utterly inadequate. Voltaire's note and its inclosure are still to be seen at Chicksands Priory. Truly this lady's lot was a hard one, for soon we shall have to record her son's violent end, when again, as in his own youth, the management of the estates of the baronetcy was thrown into her hands during a long minority.

ADMIRAL JOHN BYNG.*

At the age of twenty-five, in September, 1740, Sir Danvers was married to Lady Mary Montagu, a daughter of George, Earl of Halifax, and sister of that Lord Halifax who was one of the lords of trade. To this lady he was devotedly attached. She bore him two sons, but immediately after the birth of the second, in 1743,

* Admiral John Byng, fourth son of Viscount Torrington, from a photograph of the original picture by Hudson, at Chicksands Priory.

Digitized by Google

Lady Osborn died, plunging him into an inconsolable grief, which threatened to unseat his reason. "Sir Danvers never seems to have recovered his spirits after his wife's death," writes a descendant. 'For some years he led a restless and wandering life, . . . and was elected member of Parliament for the county of Bedford. . . In 1745, during the rebellion of the young Pretender, he raised a a troop of men, and led them in person to support King George. In 1750, he went to Nova Scotia for six months on a visit to the governor, Lord Cornwallis."* Finally his brother-in-law, Lord Halifax, then the president of the board of trade and plantations, exerted his influence to secure for him the position of governor of New-York. It was hoped the entire change of scene, as well as enforced activity, would prevent his mind from brooding over his sorrow. But the sequel proved that the step was ill-advised, and the kindly intentions were destined to be fatally disappointed.

Probably by reason of the shocking event that terminated the series, there is great minuteness in the account of the occurrences that attended the arrival, the inauguration, and the assumption of his new duties by Governor Osborn. On August 22, he sailed from Portsmouth, in H. M. S. Arundel, and two days before wrote to his sons, lads of about 12 and 10 years respectively, the following letter, which is extremely pathetic in view of the fate which we now know was impending over the affectionate and stricken parent.†

To My Two Sons.

My Dear Boys:

Thank you for your 2 letters and kind wishes. I hope when I return it will be the better for you. In the meantime be good, and obey your Grandmamma, Lord Halifax, and Mr. Bedingfield, when he comes to you. Make virtuous and honorable men and you will make me happy.

I leave you my tender blessing, and am sincerely,

Your affectionate Father,

Danvers Osborn.

On Saturday, October 6, 1753, the vessel that had conveyed him across the ocean, entered New-York harbor. On the next day, Sunday, the 7th, Sir Danvers landed in state at the foot of Whitehall street, and was formally received by the royal council, Governor

* "Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century," edited by Miss Emily F. D. Osborn (youngest daughter of the late baronet), New York, 1891, pp. 11, 12. The person thus referred to was the Hon. Mrs. Osborn, Sir Danver's mother.

† The original letter is endorsed by the Hon. Mrs. Osborn, as follows: "Sir Danvers Osborn, August, 20, 1753, to his two sons, from Portsmouth. Sailed from thence August 22—to that unfortunate Government of New-York, where he arrived, October 6, and dyed the 12— '.

Digitized by Google

Clinton being at his country-seat at Flushing, Long Island. Although it was Sunday, the festivities were begun by a banquet in honor of the new incumbent; the next day Clinton came into town and had a conference with Osborn at the governor's residence in the fort. On that (Monday) evening again a public dinner was given, at which both Sir Danvers and Clinton appeared, and which was tendered by no official body, but by the prominent citizens of the colony.

As the mansion in the fort was undergoing repairs preparatory to the change of occupants, Sir Danvers was invited to the house of a member of the council, Mr. Joseph Murray. This gentleman had married one of the daughters of Governor Cosby, and as Mrs. Cosby was related to the Earl of Halifax, Mrs. Murray was also a distant connection of the late Lady Osborn. Mr. Murray was a man of

CHICKSANDS PRIORY AS IT IS AT PRESENT.

ample fortune and of marked ability. He "was the principal lawyer of the province, and a leading member of the royalist party."* His house was situated on the lower part of Broadway, the garden in the rear extending to the edge of the Hudson River, which, as is known, then came up as far as the present Greenwich street. Mr. Murray's home "was for that time in America a very luxurious one. . . . Sir Danvers must have been quite as comfortable there as in

* These citations are from Mr. Fowler's MS.

Digitized by Google

his own house in England. The difference in the material comforts of the two countries was not then more marked than now, the colonial English generally importing much of their contemporary comforts to their colonies and territories."* On Tuesday, the 9th Governor Clinton made a formal call on Sir Danvers at his host's, and the day was also marked by the presentation of the freedom of the city in a gold box. The ceremonies and jubilations of the inauguration, on Wednesday, the 10th, having already been described. Even then the shadow of the sad event to come had begun to settle upon the new governor. The crowds that lined Broadway and Wall street as the procession passed gave vent not only to their enthusiasm at the sight of Sir Danvers, but that of the retiring governor excited them to an ill-timed and coarse anger, and they uttered shouts of derision and words of vituperation against him. This did not affect Clinton half as much as it did the sensitive Osborn; and he gave evidence of the fact that this ill-mannered conduct had made an impression upon him by the effort to soften its unpleasantness for his predecessor. He observed that he fully expected to be himself made the mark of such assaults ere he had been long in the government. An intimation of the perfect correctness of this presentiment was received by him on the very next day (the 11th), while, so to speak, the echoes of the cannon and the bells celebrating the joy at his coming had scarcely ceased. In the address from the corporation had occurred this clause, expressing the assurance that his Excellency would be as "averse from countenancing as we from brooking any infringements of our inestimable liberties, civil and religious."† The governor did not like either the words or the tone of this passage; he distinctly contemplated requesting the corporation to remove it from their address, but wiser councils dissuaded him. In the face of this determined stand of the colonists, he remembered that his instructions called for a specially determined effort to curb this very spirlt and curtail some of these all too liberal privileges. He inquired of one of the councilors how the enforcement of these instructions would be met. He was informed that the provincial assembly would not yield an inch of the power which had passed into their hands when the grants of revenue had been made annual with detailed appropriations, instead of for a number of years and undistributed. When this reply was made the disconsolate

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 804.

† "History of New York," by William Smith (cont. to 1762), in 2 vols. (N. Y. 1830), 2: 183.

Digitized by Google

chief magistrate bowed his head, and sighed, "What then am I sent here for?" * to which there was no response.

Immediately after the inauguration dinner, while the other guests still remained at the table, Sir Danvers had asked to be excused on the ground of indisposition. On the next day (the 11th) he dined quietly at an early hour at the home of his host. Still complaining of illness, Mr. Murray proposed to him to take the air, either in a carriage or a ride on horseback. This being declined and his guest's depression of spirits appearing to increase, the best physician in town, Dr. Magraw, was summoned; but his prescription was disregarded, and the governor retired early to his chamber ordering some broth to be prepared.† It was the last time that he was seen alive. Early the next morning, Friday, October 12, the body of the unhappy Sir Danvers was found suspended from the fence in Mr. Murray's garden.

It is not difficult to imagine the consternation that must have seized upon the little colonial capital, as the news of this dreadful occurrence was noised abroad. Several governors had died in office and some suddenly; but none of these deaths had been of this character, after a rule of but two days and apparently by suicide. The heat and bitterness of party spirit did indeed dare to broach the suspicion that the adherents of the lieutenant-governor had sought this execrable means of placing their favorite in power. But this charge was too monstrous to be seriously or long entertained even in that day. Yet it led to careful depositions regarding the attending circumstances, which were sent to England to convince the lords of trade that there had been no foul play, but that Sir Danvers had died by his own hands. The funeral occurred on the next day (October 13), and as the Rev. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity, had felt some scruples about consigning his Excellency's remains to the grave with the usual ritual, the unhappy fact (which, however, lessened the horror of the deed) was clearly brought out by other depositions, that insanity had before visited the heart broken baronet for a brief period since his wife's death, and that he had even

* Smith, Hist. N. Y., 2: 185.

† "All the papers and chronicles of the time are very precise about the new governor's movements, and particularly how and where he dined and supped. . . . Mr. Murray, in a deposition taken under oath by order of the council to be sent to England, states that the physician ordered 'sack whey.' Sir Danvers declined, and ordered his servant to bring 'broth' instead. Mr. Murray seems to have thought this fact of importance, and that the most skeptical lord of trade of the last century would be convinced that a man who preferred broth to sack-whey must be mad indeed." Mr. Fowler's MS.

Digitized by Google

attempted his life before. By the testimony of his private secretary* and other companions on the voyage, and of close observers of his

THOMAS POWNALL, SECRETARY TO SIR DANVERS OSBORN.

* This was Thomas Pownall, Esq., who remained in the colonies after Sir Danver's death, and by his intelligence and industry raised himself finally to a high rank in their service. He was an author before he left England, having published a work on the philosophy of political institutions. In 1757 he was appointed governor of Massachusetts, served three years with ability, and having solicited his own recall from that government, he was at once made governor of South Carolina, a post which he held for 10 years. He had been offered the governorship of New-York, but declined it. He died at Bath, in 1805, at the age of 85 years.

Digitized by Google

actions throughout the inaugural exercises, it was proved that the change from England to America, and the assumption of new and untried activities, so far from affording the hoped-for relief from the threatened malady of heart and brain, had really only aggravated it and hastened the fatal result.*

It must be confessed that the political opinions or at least affiliations of the prominent New-York personages and their families in the middle of the eighteenth century, present many puzzling complications. By a most arbitrary exercise of power, at the mere nod of Governor Cosby, Chief Justice Lewis Morris, the favorite of Robert Hunter, had been removed from his high office, and James DeLancey, not yet thirty years of age, appointed in his place. That De Lancey heartily acquiesced in this infringement upon colonial liberties was shown not only by his acceptance and retention of this office, but in a marked degree by his conduct at the Zenger trial. On a previous page have been described his contentions with the two great jurists William Smith and James Alexander; they calling in question the validity of his appointment, whereby he was compelled to disbar them. Then De Lancey was the stanch champion of the governor and of the prerogatives of the crown; while Smith and Alexander having fomented the opposition against the governor in the very newspaper that appeared in the libel suit, continued after their legal victory to agitate in favor of popular rights. During the next administration there was a complete change of base. The animosities awakened by the trial continued the same, but they led the combatants to an interchange of camps. Governor Clinton claimed that De Lancey remained friendly toward him only until by this dissembling conduct he had induced his Excellency to change the tenure of his office of chief justice from one at "pleasure" to one on "good behavior." As soon as the latter had been effected, making De Lancey independent of the governor, it was charged that he threw himself into the ranks of the opposition, determined to render Clinton's position as unpeasant as possible. But we may well look for some other cause than mere caprice, as De Lancey's support of the governor was in entire accord with his course during the incumbency of Cosby and Clarke, a period of nearly eleven years. There no doubt was a quarrel, and hence it is equally certain that the governor gave De Lancey some reason to be offended. It is also to observed that there appears to be no rupture between these high

* Fowler MS. notes.

Digitized by Google

functionaries till three or four years after Clinton's assumption of the government. But after that there is scarce a letter written by the governor to the lords of trade, or to individual members of that board, or to private correspondents, that does not reiterate with painful monotony the story of the evil conduct of the chief justice. He regrets that he has made his appointment to depend on good behavior, and actually discusses the question whether that step on his part could not be annulled at home.*

His complaints, bitter and unending, against De Lancey (as has already been more fully related in the preceding chapter), were met by the authorities in England in a most startling manner, exceedingly humiliating to the governor. While seeking to lower him in the esteem of the lords of trade, Clinton, on the other hand, sounded the praises of Cadwallader Colden, and recommended that the latter be appointed lieutenant-governor. He descanted on the advantages of creating such an office at the present juncture, when matters were fast ripening toward the breaking out of the French and Indian war, and when the governor had to be absent from the capital so frequently to adjust relations with the Indians and the other colonies.† The ministers at home saw the cogency of his recommendation so far as the office was concerned, but passing by the gentlemen whom he named as peculiarly fitted for it, they conferred the honor on none other than Clinton's persistent enemy, James De Lancey, who retained at the same time the chief justiceship. On October 27, 1747, this appointment, with the commission, was received by the governor; and as he had requested a leave of absence, he would have been compelled to hand the commission to De Lancey at once, and allow him to indulge the satisfaction of being chief ruler for a brief period.‡ To prevent this Clinton actually declined to avail himself of his permission to leave.

METHODIST CHURCH IN JOHN STREET.

On the death of Sir Danvers Osborn, the lieutenant-governor, by virtue of this same commission of 1847, was duly invested with

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 356, 357. † Ib., 6: 313. ‡ Ib., 6: 416.

Digitized by Google

the government of the province. From his own account we learn that on the morning of the inauguration the retiring governor handed this commission to De Lancey in council before Sir Danvers read his. On the fatal Friday, the council having been hastily summoned, De Lancey read the document only in the presence of the members and the officer of the guard, as anything more public would have been inappropriate. The acting governor's first care was to appoint a committee consisting of James Alexander (the oldest councilor present), John Chambers (second justice of the Supreme Court), and Mayor Holland, to make an investigation into the cause of Governor Osborn's death. The assumption of the government, however, placed De Lancey in a very curious, if not anomalous position. He had devoted all his talents and energies to oppose and harass Governor Clinton. But the royal governors stood for the royal prerogative, and the burden of its demands was limited to one cry: a permanent revenue without specific appropriations. De Lancey had, therefore, been the advocate of the opposite policy: annual grants, definitely appropriated. That was the popular cry, and Cosby's chief justice, and Zenger's very partial judge, must perforce take up that cry, and identify himself with the popular party. Aside from legislative difficulties, the times were trying, for the French and Indian war was impending, and, indeed, hostilities had already begun. There were men to be enlisted, military stores provided, and money to be raised for defense and attack. Through all this the New-York assembly kept a keen and wakeful eye upon its rights. But De Lancey's neutrality or impartiality between the two contending forces was really an advantageous circumstance. In all his letters he points out the obstinacy of the assembly, but also the danger of unwisely provoking it on the part of the home government. He wishes to remain true to unwise instructions, but in one instance boldly transgresses them and writes: "I hope the necessity of securing the Province and of obtaining money for the use of the king's troops . . . will plead for my excuse in breaking through my instructions by giving my assent to a Law for a paper Emission without a suspending clause; I could not get money in any other way, as your Lord$^{pps.}$ may be convinced of from what passed between me and the Assembly on this subject last fall."* The lords of trade must have been more than ordinarily blind not to have commended his independent judgment and action in this emergency. In fact it

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 941.

Digitized by Google

would seem as if the interests of the colonies, and of the crown if it wished to retain them in possession, would have been immensely promoted by leaving in power such men as De Lancey, born in the country, in touch with its citizens, yet loyal to England so long as it acted wisely and justly. But a native Englishman, one near the court, one who must be rewarded by place, one who needed a reparation of fortune, such was the ideal of the man for colonial governor in America ever in the minds of the ministers at home, fitness or capacity being very subordinate considerations; and such a one, answering in one or more particulars to this ideal, was again selected to supersede Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey in the government of New-York.

Chas. Hardy

As early as January 29, 1755, an order of council, regularly convened with the king present was executed appointing as captain-general and governor-in-chief of his Majesty's province of New-York a gentleman named "Charles Hardy, Esq^r.," in the document. He was a captain in the royal navy, about fifty years of age at the time of his appointment, and in addition to or connection with this honor he must have been knighted by his Majesty, for the first communication of the lords of trade to him, before he had reached America, and dated August 12, is addressed to "Sir Charles Hardy, Knight." * He had been in America before, and had also borne a similar office there, having been appointed governor of Newfoundland in 1744. Embarking in the Sphynx early in July, the new governor of New-York arrived in the upper bay on September 2, 1755. The formal reception and his landing took place next day, but on that same evening the lieutenant-governor called on Sir Charles on board the ship. It was a great relief to the latter that so efficient and experienced a person remained near him in the government, for he felt himself entirely unfitted for many of the duties that belonged to his

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 960.

Digitized by Google

present station. Meantime the French and Indian war was in progress, giving Governor Hardy much work of a nature more congenial to his training. Indeed at last he grew so tired of merely playing governor, while the sphere that he loved was affording such fine opportunities for the display of his aptitudes, that he begged to be relieved from the government of New-York and to be transferred to some post in the royal navy. In the year 1757 that request was granted, and on June 3, he placed the chief direction of affairs once more in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey. Sir Charles Hardy was made rear-admiral of the white, took part in the taking of Louisburg in 1758, and, after attaining the rank of vice-admiral, on retiring from active service he was appointed governor of Greenwich Hospital in 1771, and died in 1780, at the age of seventy-five.

It may be readily appreciated from De Lancey's superior talents as well as experience, by the side of Hardy's cheerfully avowed incapacity, that the close friendship and entire harmony between governor and lieutenant-governor meant the ascendency of the latter in the administration of affairs throughout the brief period of Sir Charles' presence in New York. There was thus practically no change in the government when De Lancey again acted as chief magistrate. He retained this prominent position for exactly three years and two months, or until the day of his death, August 4, 1760. The opulent De Lanceys occupied many fine mansions in the city and vicinity. The founder of the family built that which later became Fraunces' Tavern, on the corner of Pearl and Broad streets. This passed into Oliver De Lancey's hands, being bought by Samuel Fraunces of the latter. Stephen De Lancey also built a large house on Broadway, just above Trinity Church, which later became the City Arms, and on the site of which stood till within the recollection of many now living the City Hotel. Here James De Lancey resided when in town; but about a "mile out of town," above Grand street on the Bowery road, or between Grand and Rivington streets, at some distance from the road, whence a long lane of venerable trees led up to the house, stood the lieutenant-governor's country seat. It was here he died. He was a sufferer for many years from asthma. On the day previous to his decease he had had a conference with the governor of New Jersey on Staten Island. Crossing the broad bay in an open boat in the damp night air, and then riding out, probably on horseback, to his country-house, brought on a violent attack of

Digitized by Google

his trouble, and on the morning of August 4, 1760, he was found dead in his chair in his library. He was but fifty-seven years of age, but his career had been a successful and brilliant one. He doubtless had his faults, but it is to be remembered that the historian William Smith, the ever exhaustless source for recent historians of the city, was a violent partisan against him, and therefore has doubtless taken care that his faults should not fail to appear for the edification of posterity.

Prominent among the local incidents of this period was the founding of Columbia (then King's) College, and the erection of its first buildings. Almost in the midst of the consternation produced by Sir Danvers Osborn's death, during the autumn of 1753, matters had advanced so far in the history of the college that its first president Dr. Samuel Johnson, rector of the Episcopal Church at Stratford, Connecticut, was called to assume the duties of that office. Before this the wardens and vestry of Trinity Church, under the inspiration of the Rev. Henry Barclay, the rector, had granted to the trustees of the College a large piece of ground, part of their "farm," for the purpose of putting up suitable buildings, situated as a contemporary historian asserts, "in the suburbs of the capital." * Upon this ground the first college hall was erected, in the shape of a quadrangle, the longest side of which faced the river. It formed a prominent object in the view of the city from the opposite shores of New Jersey. The money for the institution was raised in the first place, according to the custom of the time, by lottery. The act authorizing this received Governor Clinton's approval on December 6 (St. Nicholas's Day), 1746, and the sum fixed upon was twenty-two hundred and

COLUMBIA COLLEGE IN 1758.

* Smith's History of New York, 2: 233. These grounds were about identical with the blocks bounded now by Murray and Barclay streets, Church street and College Place.

Digitized by Google

fifty pounds, say ($11,200).* But individual gifts of large sums were also contributed, both in England and in the province. Among the largest donors appears the name of Sir Charles Hardy. It was while he was governor that the condition of the finances and the prospects of attendance at the lectures seemed to warrant a beginning with building, and accordingly the corner-stone was laid by his Excellency himself in August, 1756.

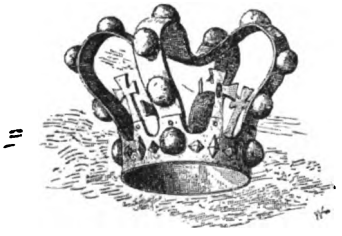
From the first college in the city to its earliest library is a very natural transition; yet in this case again the merest outline is alone permitted, as the subject extends through several administrations as well as into the next century, and will receive special and exhaustive treatment in another volume. It must be observed, however, that during the period now under consideration the foundation of the Society Library was really laid, although the Corporation Library, absorbed by it later, had already come into existence. The aim and spirit of this undertaking, as conceived by the projectors, are excellently set forth by William Smith, the historian, and his words are especially of weight and interest as expressing the feeling of the need of such an institution by an educated and enlightened citizen living at the time and deploring the lack of its advantages in an opulent but all too commercial city. He says: "In the Month of March, 1754, nearly six hundred pounds were raised toward promoting a spirit of inquiry among the people, by a loan of the books to non-subscribers. The project was started at an evening convention of a few private friends." The names of that company are worth preserving: "Messrs. Philip Livingston, William Alexander (afterwards known by the title of the Earl of Sterling), Robert R. Livingston, William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and one other person." It may be strongly suspected that this "one other person." was the historian himself, who thus modestly leaves his name unmentioned. For it is deserving of attention that, as the four Livingston brothers had been sent to Yale, where William Smith, Jr., also graduated, the pleasant circumstance reveals itself that three of these young college-bred men (and with Smith, four) were now in this practical manner giving proof of their zeal in the interest of education and popular enlightenment. As the historian further remarks: "A foundation was laid for an institution ornamental to the metropolis, and of utility to the whole colony; for the remote object of the projectors was an incorporation by royal charter, and

* Smith's Hist. N. Y., 2: 112.

Digitized by Google

the erection of an edifice, at some future day, for a museum and observatory, as well as a library."* The charter was granted under Governor Tryon in 1772, and the history of the succession of its edifices, until the present one in University Place, must be reserved for a succeeding volume.

It may not seem worth while to turn aside from the course of events, in a period so stirring as that of the French and Indian war, to note the erection of a private dwelling. But the "Walton" House, celebrated by many historians of the city, merits that distinction. Its elegance, and the splendor of its hospitalities, even bore a part in determining Parliament to inflict the stamp act upon the colonies, and thereby it assumes a national importance. In the middle of the eighteenth century William Walton had acquired great wealth in trade with the Spanish West Indies and South America. He enjoyed special privileges from the Spainards, according to Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, who in 1738 informed the home authorities that Captain Walton was "the only person in this place whom the Spaniards permit to trade at Augustine, where he has a Factor who has resided there many years." ‡ He was living then in a house located on Hanover Square. In 1754 he determined to build himself a home in a style and of a cost commensurate with his increasing fortune, and he selected for its site a locality "well out of town." It was where Queen street rose into a hill, whence the garden could slope down gracefully toward the East river bank and whence a fine prospect might be gained from the rear windows over that river, across to the green hills of Long Island, and adown the bay over Governor's Island and as far as Staten Island. From the front windows it is more difficult to imagine what the view must have been. It may have embraced the depression where the waters of the placid Collect reflected the skies and the surrounding woods. Directly across from it the eye would light upon the King's Farm;



IRON CROWN FORMERLY ON COLUMBIA COLLEGE.†

* Smith, New York, 2: 207, 208.

† This interesting relic is now mounted and preserved in the library of the college. It surmounted the cupola of the original college building, an illustration of which is given on a previous page.

‡ Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 128.

Digitized by Google

and possibly the flat shores of Jersey or the bold cliffs of Bergen Heights may have been included in the prospect. The house is no more, and were it still in existence, how different the prospect! The building at 324 to 328 Pearl street, on Franklin Square, opposite Harper & Brothers' publishing house, occupies the site. As late as 1867, an inscription still announced to the curious that this was "The Old Walton House." It was then utilized as a boarding house or hotel for sailors. Another step back, and we find in 1832, that the noble mansion, after nearly eighty years, was still intact as to its interior arrangements. In the "New York Mirror," of March 17 of that year, the following description occurs: "It is a brick edifice, fifty feet in front and three stories high, built with Holland bricks, relieved by brown stone water tables, lentils, and jams, with walls as substantial as many modern churches. The superb staircase in its ample hall, with mahogany handrails and banisters, by age as dark as ebony, would not disgrace a nobleman's palace" * Another writer of about that time, whose mother had seen it illuminated in celebration of the repeal of the stamp act, says of it: "It has even now an air of ancient stately grandeur. It has five windows in front; has a double pitched roof covered with tiles and a double course of balustrades thereon. Formerly its garden extended down to the river." † Garden and house have both disappeared, there is not even that inscription "coarsely painted in dingy white on its muddy red walls," to mark the spot where "the nonpareil of the city in 1762, had fallen from its greatness. It was torn down in 1881.

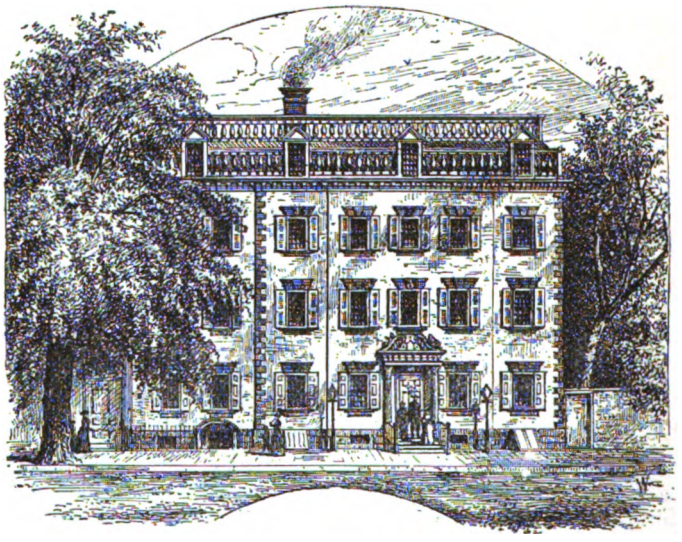
While De Lancey, Hardy, again De Lancey, and finally Colden, ruled the province between the years 1753 and 1761, the cloud of war was not only hanging over the country but burst in storms of considerable violence upon certain parts of it. New-York province and New-York city from their central position, necessarily played an important part in the French and Indian war; and hence there arises the necessity of obtaining a clear view of the circumstances attending its conduct, though mainly from the standpoint of the city's interest and participation therein. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, putting an end in 1748 to the general European war, known as that of the "Austrian Succession," was still in force in Europe, so far as the surface of things went, when it had already been infringed for a

* John Austin Stevens, "Biographical Sketches," pp. 61, 62.

† Historic Tales of Olden Time in New-York City, by John F. Watson (New-York, 1832), p. 192.

Digitized by Google

year or two in America. In 1756, Frederick the Great of Prussia could restrain his ambition no longer, and precipitated the "Seven Years' War." But in 1754, or even earlier, the movements of the French in America had become so distinctly hostile in intent, if not in action, that a general alarm spread throughout the English colonies, and emphasized the necessity of concerted action on the part of all. From the mouth of the Mississippi along the Ohio to the mouth of the St. Lawrence, it was the plan of the French to establish a chain of forts, to hem in the English upon the sea border. It might thereafter be only a question of time to drive them off this territory also. The scheme was a magnificent one and cannot but compel admiration. It was near enough realization, too, to merit more than admiration in those days, and to lift it above a mere visionary dream. But often do our enemies teach us our best



THE WALTON HOUSE.

lessons; and the French chain of forts led to the eventual confederation of American States. In 1754, delegates from all the colonies met in Albany, New-York. The congress met mainly to conclude an alliance with the Six Nations against the French. It assembled in the Court House, on Wednesday, June 19, 1754; Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey of New York presided. There were twenty-three delegates: New York being represented by four; New Hampshire

Digitized by Google

by four; Massachusetts by four; Connecticut by three; Rhode Island by two; Maryland by two; and Pennsylvania by four, one of whom was Benjamin Franklin. * Conferences were duly held with the Indians, and the usual flowery speeches exchanged; but at the session of Monday afternoon, June 24, "a motion was made that the Commissioners deliver their opinion, whether a Union of all the Colonies is not at present absolutely necessary for their security and defence." † The motion being put, it was carried unanimously, Franklin was made chairman of the committee to draft a plan, and on July 10, the plan he proposed was adopted, and ordered to be laid before the several colonial governments represented at the congress, as also before those not represented. It provided for a President-General, appointed by the crown, assisted by a grand council composed of forty-eight representatives chosen by the seven provincial assemblies; none of the colonies to have less than two, but otherwise in proportion to their population, so that Massachusetts and Virginia were each to have seven, the highest number.‡ Strange to say, this "Plan of Union," the forerunner of that confederation and federation which Franklin contributed so much to effect later, was equally distasteful to the colonies and to England. The latter apprehended too great power in the provinces; the provinces were jealous of the too greatly centralized power it would give the crown. But such a seed could not fail of fruitage, for it was laid within exactly the right kind of soil.

Though political consolidation was not yet to be for many a year, and then only at the expense of British dominion, the idea of military combination was put into practical shape by the British ministry in 1756, when the Earl of Loudoun was made commander-in-chief of the Army, throughout British North America. His chief recommendation for the post must have been, as it almost always was in the case of the colonial governors, eminent and signal unfitness for the position. He was, says Bancroft, "utterly wanting in the qualities of a military officer, or a statesman, or of a man in any sort of business." But the secret of the blunder made in the appointment lay in the fact that he was "a friend of Halifax, passionately zealous for the subordination and inferiority of the colonies." This might have been a fine state of mind for a man sent to fight the colonists already in rebellion. But the effect of

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 853. † Ib., 6: 859.
‡ Ib., 6: 889; "Bancroft, Hist. United States," (ed. 1883) 2: 387.

Digitized by Google

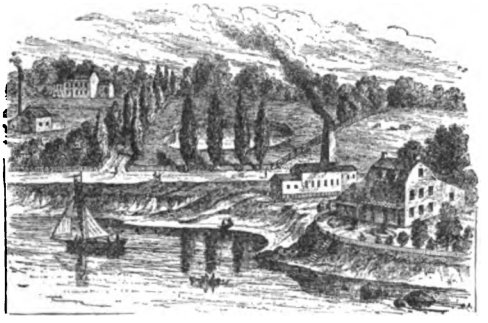
this temper in dealing with the people he came to defend was to hasten on their insubordination, and thereby to raise them from a state of inferiority to one of national independence and equality. His presence in New-York city was attended by nothing but friction, by insult and tyranny on his part, by resistance and defiance on the part of both people and magistrates. Some of the chief events of the war had already taken place before the commander-in-chief appeared upon the scene. In 1755, four campaigns had been planned by General Braddock, a narrow minded, opinionated soldier, but then, at least, a soldier and a brave one, and not a mere puppet or figurehead like Loudoun. Braddock's expedition against Fort Duquesne ended in disastrous failure and his own death. The second expedition depended upon coöperation with the first, as Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, was to effect a junction with General Braddock after the reduction of Fort Duquesne, in order to proceed with combined forces against Fort Niagara. The third expedition was placed in charge of Colonel William Johnson, the famous Indian agent, and was to be directed against Crown Point. This alone was followed by the discomforture of the French. It brings the blush of shame upon the cheek of one who feels for the honor of Englishmen that a fourth exploit, planned for 1755, was also successful. We need only mention that it was directed against the harmless and unresisting families of French farmers living in Acadia. That this outrage, which words fail to denounce as it deserves, has given us "Evangeline," is the single good that has come to the English name out of this disgraceful evil, only less infamous than the massacre of Glencoe.

THE EAST RIVER SHORE IN 1761.

In these times of war on its western and northern frontiers, New-York city was the scene of much bustle and excitement. As early as 1755, after Braddock's defeat, De Lancey urged upon the British

Digitized by Google

ministry the advantages which New-York city possessed for establishing there "a general Magazine of Arms and Military Stores," for the supply of the various armies operating in different parts of the country. The lords of trade entirely agreed with him in this opinion. They therefore proposed that whatever the king should "think proper to order to be sent to North America (except such as are ordered for particular services) should be lodged in a storehouse at New York, under the care of a Storekeeper to be appointed by His Majesty for that purpose, subject to the Controul and direction of the person who shall be appointed to the command of His Maj$^{ty's}$ forces there, and of the Gov^{r} or Commander in Chief of New-York.* This, of course, meant business for New York's citizens, a stimulus to trade in arms as well as in farm products, an increase of profits for her merchants; but the arrival of troops was neither so pleasant nor so advantageous to her citizens. In June, 1756, Sir Charles Hardy, first announced that the Earl of Loudoun was coming to assume command of the army; but actual contact was not had with this brilliant individual until after Oswego had been disgracefully lost to the French. A thousand soldiers of the regular army were then sent down to New York for winter quarters. The old barracks in the fort were fitted up after a fashion for their reception, but there was no room for the officers. The law, while requiring troops to be cared for, contemplated payment for the quartering; but Loudoun treated the provincials much as he would an enemy, and insisted, with profane threats and bluster, upon free quarters. Mayor Cruger firmly resisted the outrage, and, when the arrogant commander could not be brought to reason, led in a subscription among the wealthy inhabitants to pay for the lodgings of the officers in the houses of those who could not entertain them without charge.† Meantime efforts had been going on to put the city in a good state



NORTH RIVER SHORE, TOWARDS LISPENARD'S, 1861.

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 6: 1016.

† Smith's Hist. N. Y., 2: 292, 294; Stevens Biog. Sketches, p. 7.

Digitized by Google

of defense, and on October 27, 1756, Sir Charles Hardy was enabled to write, "Fort George has gone through great repairs and is now completed; two sides and three bastions command the rivers leading to the city, and should properly have heavy cannon mounted for the defence of the harbour. Heavy cannon should be mounted in the Narrows, and upon Nutten Island, a ground, if the enemy should attempt this country with a fleet, they will make themselves masters of, and from whence they can easily bombard the city.*

Yet while the war cloud hung over the land, the presence of a body of troops in the city every winter led naturally to gaiety and social activity. The earliest dramatic entertainments in the little town were given by officers of the army, who greatly impressed some of the fair and youthful denizens with their histrionic powers, although the more sober elements were disgusted with the folly of their antics. An ancient deed, dated about 1754, of a lot at 144 Fulton street, mentions that it was situated "in the rear of the theatre lot." This, therefore, must have been the site of the first theatre; it stood midway between the present Fulton and John streets, with its entrance corresponding with No. 17 in the latter. In January, 1760, permission was given by De Lancey to build another theatre in Chapel street near Beekman. In the following November it was opened, the tragedy of the "Fair Penitent" being performed. The next night was given the "Provoked Husband," which one cannot help hoping may have been a farce or a comedy to relieve the gloom of the tragedy. The prices charged are fortunately on record: "Boxes, 8*s.*; pit, 5*s.*; and gallery, 3*s.*" There seems not to have been made any political "capital" out of this act of De Lancey's. President Colden's experience was very different. A similar license on his part was discussed in the assembly and disapproved; the mayor of the city urged the passage of a law forbidding theatrical performances, and popular sentiment in the future metropolis was so much averse to this form of amusement that in 1766, the theatre in Beekman street was destroyed by a mob. How primitive society in New-York still remained, in spite of the sojourn there of generals in the army and inferior officers, many of whom belonged to the noblest English families, is shown by the fact that in 1757 the wife of General Gates "was generally reported as riding abroad in men's clothes, solely from the circumstance of her wearing a riding habit after the manner of English ladies."

* Doc. rel. Col. Hist. N. Y., 7: 164.

Digitized by Google

JOHN BROWN AS A POPULAR HERO.

Dispassionate history must combat many a popular belief. Prejudice and passion often bury a worthy name fathoms deep in scorn, or exalt a very imperfect idol to a shining throne. It is "Old Ossawatomie Brown" who now comes up for review.

Was John Brown of unadulterated martyr stuff; however impractical or even fanatical, yet a transparent uncompromising hero? If rugged, even severe, was his always a spirit of stern philanthropy? Was his boldness and courage of that crystal sort which scorns only to do a baseness and fears to tell a lie? On such a lofty plane did he become "the liberator of Kansas," a terror only to the enemies of order, justice and humanity? So, by worshipping multitudes, have his life and character been esteemed.

Or, on the other hand, was his the genius of violence and bloodshed? Did he design not so much the freedom of Kansas as the precipitation of civil war? Were his presence and methods a menace, his performance in the main a positive injury, to the Free State Cause. Did he in time of comparative peace provoke "border ruffian" vengeance, inaugurate a reign of terror, and thenceforth go into hiding from the storm he had raised? Was he guilty of conspiracy and murder, of midnight assassinations in cold-blooded atrocity not exceeded in history; and did he find it expedient to cover these deeds with persistent denial, reiterating the lie with his dying lips?

Such are the questions suggested, and answered adversely to the character of Brown by Charles Robinson, the famous Free State leader and "War Governor" of Kansas.*

As Brown's career came in a time of fierce partizanship, we are not to be surprised either at the horror or the worship he then inspired. Immediately upon the miserable failure of his Harper's Ferry enterprise with his trial and execution, his name was exploited as that of a saint and martyr by a set of impractical philosophers, who were distinguished for their literary powers and influence. Wendell Phillips, Henry D. Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and

* The Kansas Conflict, by Charles Robinson. (Harper Bros., 1892.)

Digitized by Google

Colonel T. W. Higginson are the men who canonized John Brown before he was fairly dead, and their words have gone far to perpetuate a false sentiment concerning the man down to the present time.

While Brown lay in jail at Harper's Ferry, Emerson called him: "The saint, whose fate yet hangs in suspense, but whose martyrdom, if it shall be perfected, will make the gallows glorious like the cross."

Thoreau said: "He could not have been tried by his peers, for his peers did not exist." Phillips declared of the brave old man's dust "the Father of his country would be proud to make room for beside his own." Higginson visited Brown's farm and family in the Adirondacks and wrote an eulogy of the spirit of the man and the sentiments with which he had inspired the simple folks who had come under his influence.

Redpath became his first biographer, and glorified him with all the rhetoric of a special pleader and a fiery partizan. The fact that this writer was a participant in the Kansas difficulties, and personally acquainted with "Ossawatomie Brown," together with his subsequent reputation as a historian, would naturally inspire confidence, and give currency to his account. But in the light of more recent investigations, some of Redpath's statements as well as omissions seem remarkable.

We are all prone to hero worship. The "Concord philosophers" of that time, with the violent Union-hating Abolitionists, seem to have been in need of a hero. John Brown, indeed, had some characteristics which fitted him for the place. He had unflinching courage, a philanthropic enthusiasm, and ambition which left out of sight personal comfort and wordly advantages, a stern religious zeal. These are heroic qualities certainly. They command respect. But they may co-exist with such serious defects of character as may quite modify our admiration. Many a cold-blooded, red-handed inquisitor, many a fiery scourge and persecutor merits a certain respect and admiration for his lofty conscientiousness, while we utterly abhor some of his deeds. Only some such qualified regard for John Brown can survive when we come to understand the facts in his case. Upon this subject fresh and important considerations are brought to bear by ex-Governor Charles Robinson, in his recent volume, *The Kansas Conflict.*

Here is a witness of the highest standing and credibility—unimpeachable, we should say. He is the famous leader of the Free

Digitized by Google

State party and "War Governor" of Kansas. His moderation, intelligence, and reliability have been tested and approved throughout a long life, and amid most trying scenes and experiences. Yet he does not rest the case upon his own unsupported testimony, but brings an array of facts which is irresistible.

Who were the real saviors of Kansas to freedom—the true "Kansas Liberators?" And what was the agency of Brown, Lane, and the supposed heroes of their class? This is the question proposed and answered in the ex-Governor's volume. If he is to be believed—and in the main he compels belief—certain quondam heroes heretofore worshipped by a large class of our people must take a tumble. That the self-assertive and unscrupulous Senator and General James H. Lane, with Montgomery Jennison, and the like, should come into condemnation, may induce a mild surprise. That "Old Ossawatomie Brown," whose grand, if misguided soul has been supposed to be "marching on" all these years in the train of true martyr spirits, should turn out to be, with whatever morbid conscientiousness, still a cold-blooded butcher, who thought it necessary with the aid of his friends persistently to falsify his conduct, deny his agency and responsibility, and at last to die with the reiterated lie on his lips—this to most of us is astounding. Yet such is the fact clearly proved before Governor Robinson took the case in hand, and acknowledged by Brown's friends, as well as by Sanborn, his later biographer.

In the recent *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, by Nicolay and Hay, Brown's work in Kansas is characterized as follows: "With his sons as a nucleus he gathered a little band of fifteen to twenty adventurers, and soon made his name a terror in the lawless guerrilla warfare of the day. His fighting was of the prevailing type, justifiable, if at all, only on the score of defensive retaliation, and some of his acts were as criminal and atrocious as the worst of those committed by the border ruffians."

This fearful arraignment and condemnation is only confirmed by the accumulating evidence. While the raid on Harper's Ferry has been generally condemned by the North as well as the South, yet multitudes have believed in the man. His error has been attributed to imperfect judgment, a fanatical faith, a morbid sense of duty, a disordered mind, while conceding his integrity, his veracity, the essential justice of his intent, his complete devotion to truth and righteousness. Moreover, his previous course in Kansas was supposed

Digitized by Google

to have been altogether justifiable and indeed indispensable in that rude struggle which freed the fair territory from pro-slavery invasion and subjugation. Brown was esteemed a "Scourge of God," commissioned from on high, as he himself claimed, to fight fire with fire in a desperate state of affairs which admitted of no less heroic methods.

That Brown, with Lane and others of like spirit and method, were continually thorns in the side of the level headed, moderate, and effective free state settlers, that they favored collision with the Federal authorities, that they had to be repeatedly thwarted and restrained from seriously compromising the cause which they professed to serve, that they instituted and carried forward a system of guerrilla warfare, a system of midnight pillage and murder which greatly aggravated the disorders of the time, instead of suppressing them by judicious and salutary terrors, as claimed—all this for a long time the general public had scarcely suspected. If these things are so—and certainly the proof is strong—the revelation is none too soon. The truth should be fully and widely known, even if somebody's 'idol' turns to 'clay.'

While John Brown and James H. Lane may be classed together as to some matters of method and result, they are world-wide apart as to objects and motives. It is not our purpose here to discuss Lane's career. According to Governor Robinson, and there could scarcely be a more competent or reliable witness, James H. Lane was one of the worst specimens of the worst type of the unscrupulous politician, a low villian, a coward, a murderer, a brilliant, arrogant adventurer, without a touch of real patriotism or a shred of real manhood, who fittingly ended his life with a pistol shot in the mouth by his own hand. Though he does not say it, yet it is plain the one thing for which Governor Robinson cannot forgive President Lincoln is that the despicable Lane was suffered so long to haunt the White House as senator from Kansas, misrepresenting her interests, and exerting such a large and pernicious influence in her affairs both civil and military. Lane seems always to have had the ear of the President, till some of the Senator's performances could no longer be concealed, and his expulsion from the Senate being imminent, he destroyed himself.

But John Brown, although one with Lane in advising and urging on to deeds of indiscretion and violence, was yet a far different man with a totally different motive. His object was not personal aggran-

Digitized by Google

dizement, revenge, or even the relief and salvation of Kansas, but bloody war upon slavery and all its abettors. As Redpath asserts: He had come to Kansas "not to settle" or "speculate," or from idle curiosity; but for one stern solitary purpose—"to have a shot at the South." ("Roving Editor.")

On May 30, 1854, the Kansas-Nebraska bill, opening these territories to slavery received the signature of President Pierce, and became the law of the land. Under its permission the South made no secret of the intention to appropriate Kansas as a grand addition to slave territory and slave power. The South, intoxicated with one more victory, was confident, aggressive, defiant; the North exasperated, alarmed and despondent. The seat of "the irrepressible conflict," was now measurably removed from the halls of Congress and transferred to the plains of Kansas. The Charleston *Mercury* stated the case as follows:

"By consent of all parties, the present contest in Kansas is made the turning point in the destinies of slavery and abolition. If the South triumphs, abolitionism will be defeated and shorn of its power for all time. If she is defeated, abolition will grow more insolent and aggressive, until the utter ruin of the South is consummated."

The slave power had every advantage from the control and active sympathy of the general government, from the prestige of thirty-five years of unbroken political supremacy, and from the position of Kansas buttressed on the east with a slave state, from which it could be entered by Missouri hordes in a single day's march. Phillips, Garrison, Parker and others, of the American Anti-Slavery Society, despaired at once, and upon the passage of the bill gave up the territory as the inevitable prey of slavery.

But not so the more moderate and practical anti-slavery masses. The country by solemn compact dedicated to freedom had been opened to slavery, yet they saw that to go up and possess the land would be to redeem it. Slavery must now be out-populated and outvoted on the ground. At once Northern as well as Southern settlers began to pour in. Eli Thayer was the man raised up of Providence and inspired with wisdom and indefatigable energy to be the apostle of the Free State emigration scheme. To him is due the first organized effort to encourage and aid in every way to promote the settling of the territory with northern families, and to him is largely due the perennial force and tremendous success of

Digitized by Google

the movement. His the distinction of having a price set on his head by the slave power "whether he be taken dead or alive." He travelled sixty thousand miles and made hundreds of addresses proclaiming hope, and persuading the people to unite in the crusade for freedom in Kansas. He had grand support in his work from Amos A. Lawrence and many others. In Kansas itself, Charles Robinson became the agent of the Emigrant Aid Society, and a remarkably able, moderate, courageous and effective leader of the Free State party. About one month after the passage of the bill organizing the territory, Robinson was on the ground, and not many weeks later he received the first party of emigrants from Boston. They laid out the town of Lawrence.

The first election, for a territorial delegate to Congress, occurred in November of 1854, and was the signal for an invasion of Missourians. About two-thirds of the votes cast were by non-residents. On March 30, 1855, came the more important election of a territorial legislature. Governor Reeder had promised a fair election. However, the Missourians again invaded the land "with great ostentation, with arms of every description, including cannon. They were detailed in every district in sufficient numbers to secure every member of the legislature, should their votes be counted. So open, unblushing and overwhelming was the demonstration, that it defeated itself." In the end it did so, but not at once, as the Free State men supposed must be the case. In spite of his protestations, and unaccountably it would seem in view of the general probity and justice of his character, Governor Reeder, after a few days of indecision, issued certificates to a large majority of the men thus chosen by these invaders. The utterly fraudulent character of this legislature was patent to the entire country and could not be denied. Yet this body could enact a slave code, provide for all future elections to be controlled by its own appointees, including one for a constitutional convention; and this it proceeded to do. Moreover, it soon became evident that this bogus legislature, foisted upon a people by such outrageous means, would be endorsed by the territorial judiciary and the President. There would be no escape by another election for two years at the least.

How to resist this flagrant usurpation, repudiate and nullify all the proceedings of the bogus government, to consolidate and harmonize their own forces, and yet to avoid all collision with a federal power bent upon their subjugation, was the problem set for the Free

Digitized by Google

State men. To this end the subject of State organization was agitated and the "Topeka Constitution" formed. This served its purpose admirably as a repudiation of the unlawful territorial government, and a rallying point for all Free State factions and elements. About the time of this movement John Brown appeared on the scene; and Lane, up to this time a pro-slavery Democrat, now in expectation of the senatorship, definitely allied himself with the Free State party. Brown was disgusted with the Free State people.

While the matter of the constitution was pending, occurred the "Wakarusa War." Dow was wantonly slain by Coleman. The citizens at Hickory Point, the scene of the murder, called a meeting and denounced the outrage. The next night Jones, of Weston, Mo., but sheriff under the bogus government, of Douglas county, Kansas, appeared with a posse of fifteen men and arrested Mr. Branson, who had been Dow's landlord. A party of Free State men of about the same number, under the lead of Col. S. N. Wood, intercepted the sheriff's posse and rescued Branson. Governor Shannon by proclamation called out the militia to enforce the laws. Lawrence assumed no responsibility for the rescue. Only three of her citizens were engaged in it. But understanding it would be made an occasion against her, when squads and companies of armed men began to arrive at Franklin and Wakarusa, the committee of safety organized thorough measures of defense. The Free State men flocked in from the neighboring settlements, many armed with the dreaded Sharpe's rifles. About two thousand armed men, mostly Missourians, assembled at the Governor's call. Of course the desire was for some pretext "to wipe out" Lawrence. And first they were especially anxious the Lawrence rebels should surrender their Sharpe's rifles. Robinson, who commanded in Lawrence, proposed another "Missouri Compromise"—to keep the rifles and surrender the contents. The people were prepared and determined to defend the city and their homes against a mob, yet they were extremely careful not to allow any collision with Federal authority, and, having resisted no process, they knew they could not with any semblance of law or reason be assaulted or disarmed. The result justified their moderation and wisdom in standing strictly on the defensive. The Governor soon saw his mistake and was only too glad to effect an understanding and get rid of his army without bloodshed. The hordes went back chagrined, and dissolved without striking a blow. The only life lost by this invasion was that of poor Barber,

Digitized by Google

wantonly murdered by the government Indian agent, Clark. But had Lane or Brown controlled it would have been far different. Lane endeavored to bring on a conflict; and persisted in the design of making a night attack on the militia, until he was threatened with arrest. John Brown, who did not arrive till negotiations for peace were begun, proposed the same violent course. It is easy to see, had the counsels of these men prevailed, not only would an immediate carnage have ensued, but the Free State men, instead of receiving sympathy, aid, and encouragement, would have fallen under the condemnation of the entire country.

This incident illustrates the condition throughout. With numerous marchings and countermarchings of armed bands, with infinite bluster and threats, and some few cases of personal violence, yet at the close of 1855, more than eighteen months after the opening of the territory, only five persons it appears had been killed; two pro-slavery men, Henry Davis and Malcolm Clark; three Free State men, C. W. Dow, Samuel Collins and Thomas Barber.

The second attack upon Lawrence occurred May 21, 1856. Another pro-slavery army assembled at the call of the United States Marshal, J. B. Donaldson. The Free State men still adhered to the policy of non-resistance to the semblance even of legal authority. But this did not prevent a shameful and unprecedented outrage. After making a few arrests, the Marshal's deputy disbanded his posse to be immediately enrolled as a sheriff's posse, by the notorious Jones, who proceeded to destroy the two printing establishments and the Eldridge Hotel, while many stores and private houses were entered and pillaged. Of course, such an outrage could only react against the perpetrators, and the government by whose permission it became possible. The next move was the indictment under the remarkable instructions of Judge Lecompte, of the Free State leaders by the grand juries and their arrest for "constructive treason." Treason not being a bailable crime, a half-dozen men, Robinson among them, were kept in durance for several months.

Still, all these astonishing measures had not established nor indeed advanced the pro-slavery cause. They deserved and received only execration from honest men. The territorial government remained in contempt. The entire North was aroused; and Kansas filled more and more rapidly with Free State settlers. Plainly the usurpation could not last.

Digitized by Google

At this point John Brown inaugurated a new conflict—a system of guerrilla warfare—inaugurated it by a deed so cowardly cruel, so cold-blooded and atrocious, it could not fail to excite in that rough border a wild thirst for vengeance, and call for fearful reprisals, which yet at the worst were never able to exceed the original horror. It was done in midnight darkness, and Brown, for whatever reason, saw fit to deny it, and to have his friends deny it—but he did it. He denied it with his dying breath—but he did it—wholly by his own order, and partly with his own hand. The Concord philosophers, be it said, when they eulogized him, believed him—thought him incapable of a lie.

Here are the facts taken from the statement of James Townsley, and acknowledged to be substantially correct by Brown's son, and by Sanborn, his more recent biographer.

"After my team was fed and the party had taken supper, John Brown told me for the first time what he proposed to do. He said he wanted me to pilot the company up to the forks of the creek (the Potawatomie), some five or six miles above, into the neighborhood where I lived, and show them where all the pro-slavery men resided; that he proposed to sweep the creek as he came down of all the pro-slavery men living on it. I positively refused to do it."

On account of this refusal the expedition was postponed till the next night. In the meantime, Townsley wanted to take his team (the only one), and go home, but was not permitted.

"The next place we came to was the residence of the Doyles. John Brown, three of his sons, and son-in-law went to the door, leaving Frederick Brown, Winer and myself a short distance from the house. * * * The old man Doyle and two sons were called out and marched some distance from the house toward Dutch Henry's, in the road, where a halt was made. Old John Brown drew his revolver and shot the old man Doyle in the forehead, and Brown's two youngest sons immediately fell upon the younger Doyles with their short two-edged swords. * * * Wilkinson was taken and marched some distance south of his house, and slain in the road, with a short sword by one of the younger Browns. After he was killed his body was dragged out to one side and left. We then crossed the Potawatomie and came to the house of Henry Sherman, generally known as Dutch Henry. * * * They afterwards brought out William Sherman, Dutch Henry's brother, marched him down into Potawatomie creek, where he was slain by swords by

Digitized by Google

Brown's two youngest sons, and left lying in the creek. It was the expressed intention of Brown to execute Dutch Henry also, but he was not found at home. He also hoped to find George Wilson, Probate Judge of Anderson county there, and intended if he did to kill him too. Wilson had been notifying Free State men to leave the territory. I had received such a notice from him myself."

Brown and his friends saw fit persistently to deny any participation on his part in these foul murders. Yet, as they were evidently perpetrated by Free State men, it seemed necessary to justify them, or at least to apologize for them. Hence Redpath and others, pictured the victims as the blackest of villians, who had already marked the Free State men for destruction, and some of whom had "offered the grossest indignities to a daughter and daughter-in-law of the old man." But these stories appear to be pure inventions. We do not learn that the Browns themselves ever claimed anything of the kind.

Threats in those times were as plenty as grasshoppers; but the stubborn fact remains that this was the first horror of its kind in all that region—in the territory or any part of the border. Up to this time we have no account that a single political murder had occurred south of Douglas county. From Townsley's testimony it is clear "Brown was not hunting for criminals who had insulted his family, driven off his stock, killed his son or any one else, but simply for pro-slavery men." To him belongs the infamy of taking the initiative in a system of horrible midnight butchery, in cold-blooded atrocity seldom equalled and never exceeded. In a meeting "of citizens of Potawatomie creek, without distinction of parties," held three days after the killing, they declared: "Whereas, an outrage of the darkest and foulest nature has been committed in our midst by some midnight assassins unknown, who have taken five of our citizens at the hour of midnight from their homes and families, and murdered and mangled them in an awful manner; to prevent a repetition of these deeds, we deem it necessary to adopt some measures for our mutual protection, and to aid and assist in bringing these desperadoes to justice." Active in this meeting were some of the most radical Free State men of the territory; but in all the resolutions which follow not one word of palliation for the horrible deed is uttered. Such was the verdict at the time and in the place where the crime was committed.

Digitized by Google

We see this horror cannot be justified nor excused on the plea of "defensive retaliation." It was not the culmination of a long string of outrages suffered until "endurance ceased to be a virtue," and thus required to strike terror into the heart of the adversary. On the contrary it originated, introduced and provoked that system of brigandage and murder, which desolated that border in the following months.

That the outrage was unprovoked is further shown by Brown's own testimony, in January, 1857, before the Massachusetts Legislature, as follows:

"You ought to remember that from the date of the Shannon treaty (early in December, 1855) till May last (1856; the month of the Potawatomie murders) there was perfect quiet in Kansas; no fear of renewal of hostilities; no violence offered to our citizens in Missouri; I frequently went there myself; was known there, yet treated with the greatest kindness."

True, at the time of the murders the despicable attack upon Lawrence, with the destruction of the printing presses, hotel, and other property had just occurred. But shameful outrage as it was, it had been done under the color of law by the organized mobs of a sheriff and a United States marshal. It had stirred the indignation and earned the execration of all honest men; but with all, as far as appears, not a single life had been sacrificed; and crowned with their appropriate infamy, the brutal hordes were peaceably retreating to their homes. At such a moment the John Brown horror broke upon them, supplied them a cause, and awoke the tiger of retribution. To old John Brown, the midnight assassin, afterwards "the Ossawatomie hero," must be brought home a large responsibility for the fearful state which followed.

From that night he himself went into hiding. It was after this that his son was killed, and his sons' cabins reduced to ashes. From that moment onward his life in Kansas became that of a fugitive or a bandit.

He had some great qualities,—he championed the oppressed, he could unflinchingly sacrifice himself and all his family, he had a religious zeal and a lofty but distorted conscience. It is a very unfortunate selection when we make of such a man a popular hero.

A. E. ALLABEN.

Digitized by Google

SAMUEL GORTON.*—I.

While the early settlers of Rhode Island were busy making history, their adversaries were as busy in writing it. The strong adverse bias of the early Massachusetts writers against the settlers of Rhode Island, is impressed upon the writings and records of the Puritan Colony, and embarrasses every student of Rhode Island history, in his exertion to represent the founders of the state precisely as they were.

In the main, this bias of the adversaries of these founders, was grounded in an honest conviction, in which all Christendom was at that time involved, and we might as well censure the Puritans for not having built lines of railroad, or for not having in use the telegraph, as to censure them for exiling Roger Williams and his friends from their commonwealth. They acted up to the light given them and their conduct was in accord with the spirit of the age in which they lived.

I say this much, because without this explanation, the repetition of facts which I may find it necessary to state upon the subject on which I am about to write, may authorize the inference that I entertain a different opinion.

These settlers were men of different mental, moral and social standards, whose blended opinions and actions were mainly instrumental in formulating the institutions of Rhode Island. Roger Williams, who, if greatness consists in exercising the most beneficial influence upon his own and succeeding generations, deserves to be counted as the greatest man in colonial New England.

William Coddington, one of the Lincolnshire county gentlemen who resisted the attempts of Charles I. to levy taxes and govern England without a Parliament, and suffered for it in his native country—a man of high spirit and lofty courage, as he demonstrated upon the trial of Ann Hutchinson—of great wealth—the author of the code of laws of 1647, and who, by his influence with Governor Andros and his council, in the time of Philips' war, after the "Swamp fight," when Philip sought to make his way north to procure the Northern Indians under the control of the French Jesuits,

* Read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, in February, 1893.

Digitized by Google

to join him in subduing New England, induced them to start a military force to drive Philip back beyond the Connecticut, and Andros himself to go to Albany and rally the Mohawks about him to drive back the Northern Indians, already on the way to unite with Philip, and thus materially contributed to bring to a successful close this dreadful war—was the leader in the settlement of the island of Rhode Island. The act that mars Coddington's life is, when charges of being peremptory in his manners and presumptuous in his office were made against him, by Samuel Gorton and others, to prevent his induction into the office of Governor, to which he had been duly elected, that he went to England and procured a commission to be Governor of Rhode Island and the islands in the Bay, for life.

John Clarke, who, sixteen days after he arrived in Boston, was ordered to leave Massachusetts, presumably because he did not have the consent of two magistrates to remain there, was instrumental in founding the first church in Newport, which, from Coddington's letter to Winthrop, appears to have been founded before December 9, 1639. He was its first minister. Lenthall, who had found his Massachusetts home unendurable because he advanced the heresy that baptism was necessary for admission to church membership, and that baptism could only be had upon confession of faith, came to Clarke's assistance in the last days of February, 1639–40. Lenthall was chosen school-master by the town and paid by its funds, and opened a free school, sustained by the public charge, in August, 1640. Lenthall, afterwards, returned to England, and there was probably the chaplain, at Hampdenshire, and he, or another person bearing his name, preached the funeral sermon of John Hampden. The great merit of Dr. John Clarke was in procuring the charter of 1663.

The last of the men to whom I refer, is Samuel Gorton—the most abused and least understood man of his time. Every one who has written of Gorton, but the late Chief-Justice Brayton, has given him a bad name—above which, Judge Brayton has sought to elevate Gorton's character. Among the early monographs largely devoted to Gorton, is one by Edward Winslow, entitled "*Hypocracy Unmasked.*" I entertain the opinion that Judge Brayton consulted only extracts from Winslow's book, published in the Historical Genealogical Register. The work is exceedingly rare. I have in my possession a full manuscript copy of the book, taken from the

Digitized by Google

copy in the British Museum. Its statements of facts are so exact in their details, are so clearly stated, that they seem to be entitled to confidence, but in many of the writer's conclusions from the facts stated, I do not concur. I say this much because this book, in discussing the character of Gorton, contains statements which should be considered.

This extraordinary man was born in Gorton, in England, it is said, about A. D. 1592. He arrived in Boston in 1634, and went to Plymouth, in 1637. In Plymouth, he was soon involved in difficulty—for, on the 5th of November, 1638, he was before the General Court, and was then required to give surety for keeping the peace, in £40, and Edward Doty was his surety. Upon going to Plymouth, June 7th, 1637, Gorton had hired a part of the dwelling house of Mr. Smith, for four years. He was in the habit of having family prayers and other religious services, which Mrs. Smith was in the habit of attending to her edification. Ellen Aldridge, a widow, at Plymouth, had smiled in the congregation in "*Meeting*;" Gorton claimed her to have been a woman of good repute in England; she had recently come to Plymouth, where she was proceeded against for offensive speeches as well as for having smiled in meeting; she fled to the woods, where she remained several days, to escape the shame of a public trial. Gorton espoused her cause with considerable zeal. He became surety for her appearance in Court, on November 5, 1638. It is alleged, in the Plymouth records, that Gorton and his wife helped to convey Mrs. Aldridge away, whereupon it was voted, that if she were again found in Plymouth Colony, that she be arrested by the constable and sent from constable to constable, until she was back from whence she came. Gorton had become obnoxious to his landlord, Mr. Ralph Smith; the cause for this can only be conjectured from known facts. Smith had Gorton before the Court with the view of having him ejected from his house —the judgment of the Court was adverse to Gorton. So that, on December 4, 1638, Gorton had been before the Court on two occasions—once in the Aldridge case, and once in his own case; on the later date, he was brought before the Court for a misdemeanor in open Court towards the Elders and the Bench, and for stirring up the people to mutiny in the presence of the Court, and was then fined £20, and was ordered to leave the Colony in fourteen days, and in the meantime to find surety for his good behavior in £40, and that he would depart out of the Colony within the fourteen

Digitized by Google

days. Thomas Atkinson was his surety. Winthrop says that "he was bound and in the face of the Court, he broke his bond." On the same day from the record it appears, that he was committed to ward for the want of surety, and £10 of his fine was remitted. Gorton says there was no reason known to him why Smith should take offense against him, but the fact that Smith's family attended his morning and evening religious services. "The time for his departure from Plymouth fell to be in a mighty snow storm, as he had seen in this country." His "wife being turned out of doors in the said storm with a young child sucking at her breast." From Plymouth Gorton went direct to Portsmouth.

The records of Plymouth and the declaration of Gorton demonstrate that Staples and Callender were in error in supposing that Gorton came to Rhode Island before June 20, 1638.

Upon his arrival at Portsmouth, Mr. Gorton at once assumed and contended that the government there organized, in the absence of a charter from the Crown, was illegal and of no obligatory force upon the inhabitants. He soon gained a considerable number of converts to his contention—among the most outspoken of whom, were Richard Carder, Randall Holden, Robert Potter and Sampson Sholten—others, less outspoken, evidently had more or less sympathy in opinion with Mr. Gorton, The men in the government, to avoid a controversy with so persistent a controversialist as was Mr. Gorton, withdrew from Portsmouth and removed to and in the following spring (1639) laid the foundation of the town of Newport. But no sooner had the men in the government resolved upon a removal and entered upon the execution of the resolve, than did Gorton and his friends attempt to organize a municipal corporation. The primary difference, between those who remained at Portsmouth and those who removed to Newport was, that the latter acknowledged allegiance only to God and bound themselves to obey his laws, while Gorton's party acknowledged allegiance to the King and agreed to be bound by his laws, according to matters of justice.

March 12, 1640, the most important persons in the Gorton government abandoned it and petitioned to be re-united to the people of Newport. If there had been a pre-existing organized civil society at the time of the organization of the Coddington government, there can be no doubt that the contention of Gorton would have been well founded; but government is a necessity and

Digitized by Google

the presence of the necessity upon the settlers of Acquidneck, was alike the authority and the limitation upon the authority, to establish and maintain a government. The Coddington party, in the absence of the King's authority, might well say, that they had no right and in the absence of the right, they were unwilling to incur the risk of using the King's name in the organization of the government; while Gorton, in the absence of this authority, did not hesitate to use the King's name and claimed to be acting within his allegiance.

The government in Providence, acting under a similar compact to that established in Newport, sought to enforce its authority by punishing its delinquent subjects for a breach of the covenant, embraced in their compact, while the government in Newport proceeded against delinquents as for violations of law. The Providence people did not seem to appreciate that the enforcement of a breach of covenant by legal process, was as much an assertion of authority in law for the organization of government, as that exercised in Newport.

Gorton's conduct, after his enforced removal from "The Island," in Providence and at Pawtucket, was consistent with his early conduct in Portsmouth; notwithstanding his signing of the compact at Portsmouth, of April 30, 1639, in Providence he persistently denied the authority of the government under their compact; at Warwick, which was a settlement dominated by himself and his friends, he made no attempt at instituting a government until after the receipt of the charter of 1643–4.

There is no evidence sufficient to justify the conclusion that Gorton was not honest in the assertion of the principles that the Colonial government based upon the consent of the Colonists, in the absence of the King's authorization, were insufficient in law to command the obedience of the subjects of the government; the violence of conduct exhibited by Gorton in resisting the constituted authorities, is probably attributable to this conviction of right, aggravated by infirmities of temper.

At "The Island" Gorton and a poor widow happened to improve adjoining lands in 1641. The widow's cow escaped into Gorton's field. Gorton's maid went to drive out the cow and proceeded to beat and use violence upon her. The widow went to rescue the animal and attempted to drive her home—whereupon the maid seized the widow by the hair and pulled her over and

Digitized by Google

beat her. The widow went to Nicholas Easton, who was then a magistrate, and complained of the maid for the assault and battery, for which the maid was bound over to the Court of Trials, presided over by Coddington, who had for assistants, Nicholas Easton, William Brenton, John Coggeshall, William Hutchinson and John Porter. The court had a grand and petit jury, and William Dyer was the attorney-general. When the case was called, the maid did not appear, but Gorton did appear and insisted that he might take the place of the maid and assume the responsibility of her acts for her, and Gorton proceeded to discuss his right to appear and to deny the authority of the court and its legal existence. He attacked the court and especially Mr. Easton, with great violence, calling him "a just ass," and "Lawyer Eaton," and finally said that his "ears had been cut off long ago" (meaning that he had been cropped for crime), and using other like offensive language to the court generally. This having all taken place in the presence of the grand jury and the attorney-general, they retired from the court and after a time returned an indictment (a copy of which is yet extant) against Gorton, for contempt of court, and to this indictment Gorton was put to plead. Though it was intimated to him that he might have time to prepare for his defense, he insisted upon having an immediate trial, which was given him, and he was found guilty—at this he was highly indignant and protested against the right of the court to act as a court and to try or sentence him. The issue thus made up involved the rightful existence of a government in the colony. The court was equal to the exigencies of the case—it sentenced Gorton to be first whipped and then to depart from the colony. In the midst of a new outburst of passionate harangue, Gorton claimed an appeal. Coddington calmly told him that the court would allow his appeal, but it would first have him whipped. After he was whipped and as the members of the court were leaving, he broke away from the officer and ran up to Coddington and told him that "this whipping is only lent." Gorton then left Newport and went to Providence. At this time Gorton had active partisans on "The Island," who were willing, if the occasion arose, to fight for him, and there were others, whose sympathies were with him, yet their sympathies did not carry them to the extent of open resistance.

After Gorton's removal to Providence he resisted the power of the government there, as he had done at Acquidneck, and presuma-

Digitized by Google

bly upon the same ground on which he denied the validity of the government at "the Island"—that is, the want of royal authority for its institution. This conduct of Gorton's gave rise to the charge that he was opposed to all civil authority, but the life and conduct of Gorton afford abundant evidence that his opposition to the government in Rhode Island, arose from and was limited to the want of royal authority for its institution. In Providence, Gorton soon rallied around him adherents, who adopted his views of both civil and religious policy.

Under their general compact, the founders of Providence had instituted a court of arbitration and clothed it with power to hear and determine causes arising between parties, and to execute its judgments. Under this jurisdiction, a suit was instituted against one Francis Weston, of Pawtuxet, an adherent of Gorton, and a judgment was entered therein for £15, in favor of one William Field, and execution was awarded upon the judgment. The officer charged with the service of the execution went out to Pawtuxet to serve it, taking aid with him, and intending to levy the execution upon Weston's cattle. Gorton and his friends, aware of the coming of the officer and of his purpose, rallied for the defense of Weston and his cattle, and determined to resist the execution of the legal process by force.

Weston, armed with a flail, followed by his adherents, after some blood was spilled on each side, succeeded in scattering and rescuing the cattle from the officer, and in defeating the service of the process—Gorton, Randall Holden, John Greene and some others took part in this affray with Weston.

Gorton had not been allowed to become a purchaser, a freeman, or an inhabitant of Providence, but Robert Coles had given Gorton a part of his lands at Pawtuxet, as had John Greene, and in this way he became interested in the lands at that place.

Roger Williams, in a letter of March 8, 1641, refers to Gorton thus: "Mr. Gorton, having lowdly abused both high and low at Acquidneck, is now bewitching and maddening poor Providence, both with his unclean and foul censures of the ministers of this country, for which myself have, in Christ's name, withstood him—and he also denying all visible and external ordinances in the depth of familism, against which I have not a little disputed and written. All suck in this poison as at first they did at Acquidneck, some few and myself do withstand his inhabitation and town privileges, without

Digitized by Google

confession and reformation of his uncivil and inhuman practices at Portsmouth."

William Arnold, May 25, 1641, wrote: "It is also evidenced and may easily be proved, that the said Gorton nor his company are not fit persons to be received in and made members of such a body, in so weak a state, as is our town at present. My reasons are, *first:* Samuel Gorton having showed himself an insolent, railing and turbulent person, not only in and against those state governments from whence he came, as is to be proved, but also has in this town, since he was sojourned in the town, in such an inhuman behaviour, as becomes not a man that should be thought to be fit, by any reasonable man, to be received into such poor, weak state as we are at present."

Governor Coddington, writing November 11, 1646, says: "Mr. Gorton and his company, they are to me as they ever have been—their freedom of "the Island" is denied and was, when I accepted the place I now bear. The commissioners have joined them in the same charter, though we maintain this government as before."

The deed of Shawomet (Warwick) from Miantonomi, dated January 12, 1642, was to Randall Holden, John Greene, John Wickes, Francis Weston, Samuel Gorton, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Sampson Sholten, Robert Potter and William Wordell; these associates were the adherents of Gorton; Wickes attempted to resist the officer when he endeavored to execute upon Gorton the sentence of the court at Newport, and was then put in irons—Carder, Potter and Shotten were all disfranchised and had their arms taken from them at that time. Weston was the man whose cattle were rescued from attachment by the party, on the 15th of the preceding November.

The successful resistance of Weston and his friends to the service of the execution against him, tended to accent the necessity existing for a colonial charter. Whereupon Roger Williams was prevailed upon to go to England to obtain a charter for the colony. Preparatory to his undertaking this journey and to obtain the necessary means to defray the expenses of the journey, he sold his trading-house and his great guns at Narragansett to Richard Smith and possibly his half of the island of Prudence.

Williams went to England, and in March, 1643–4, he obtained a charter from the Council of State for the Providence Plantations. There is a difference between the record of the grant of the

Digitized by Google

charter and the charter itself. The record says, the power of government granted, shall be "in accordance with the King's letters patent to the plantation of Massachusetts," but in the charter, there is no reference to this paragraph contained in the record, but this was not material, as the charter was signed by the members of the Council of State, who had the power to modify the grant made in the record. The ordinance of Parliament constituting the Council of State, was passed on the second of November, 1643, and it appears surprising that the charter was ordered so soon thereafter as December 10, but Sir Henry Vane was a member of the Council and he had an intimate personal acquaintance with many of the leading men in the Rhode Island Colony. A government was not organized under the charter until 1647. This delay probably arose from the secondary place given to Newport in the charter, and the disinclination of Coddington and his friends to be united in a government with Gorton and his associates.

Though Coddington was chiefly instrumental in framing the code of laws under which the new government was organized in 1647, there can scarcely be a doubt, that the causes which delayed the organization of the government, aided by the hostility of a few persons in Newport to Coddington, reacted upon Coddington and for a time crippled and well nigh overthrew the new government.

Robert Coles, who had given Gorton half of his undivided lands at Pawtuxet, withdrew his adherence from Gorton aud united in the attempt to transfer his allegiance to Massachusetts with William Arnold, William Carpenter and Benedict Arnold, who had become greatly exasperated against Gorton and his associates; these persons had also had a difficulty with Roger Williams, arising out of the Indian grant of the lands of Providence and about Pawtuxet—from the fact, that upon the face of the grant to Williams, it was made to him personally, without words of limitation or extension—whereupon Arnold and his associates, unmindful that all Indian grants of lands up to the time of Williams' grant, rested merely in parole and were not in writing—contended that the grant was to Williams for life only and was without words of inheritance, and the new grant procured by Arnold and his friends, extended the boundary of the grant "up the Pawtuxet stream without limits." This greatly offended Williams, who contended that the extension of the boundaries "up stream without

Digitized by Google

limit," "was an ingenious fraud upon the Indians, who did not understand the force of this language." The indignation of Williams, expressed in strong language, added to the hostility of Gorton and his associates, induced William Arnold and his sons, Benedict and Stephen, and his son-in-law, William Carpenter, and Zachary Rhodes, with Robert Coles (Cole) to apply to the General Court of Massachusetts, at its meeting September 8, 1642, to take them and their lands under that jurisdiction and submitted their persons and estates to the jurisdiction of that colony. This involved the Rhode Island Colony and especially the town of Warwick, in many difficulties and was undoubtedly a violation of the allegiance of the seceders to the colony of Rhode Island. May 26, 1658, William Arnold and William Carpenter petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to be discharged from their subjection to that colony, and on June 1, 1658, their associates united in their petition, when by an act of the court therein, the petitioners were released from their subjection to that colony, and the claim of Massachusetts to jurisdiction of any part of Warwick was thus determined. But this attempted submission of Arnold and his adherents, was the occasion of inflicting a great wrong upon Gorton and his friends, and affixing a lasting stigma upon the names of the founder of the Massachusetts colony.

This incursion aroused a strong feeling among the people of Providence, and Chad. Brown, Thomas Olney, William Field and William Wickendon, all of whom, but Mr. Field, were or afterwards became clergymen, addressed a letter to the Governor of Massachusetts. These writers were the citizens of Providence, who were present as witnesses as the opening of the parley. They informed the Governor of Massachusetts, that the claims made by Captain Cooke upon the Warwick settlers were, *first:* That the settlers should get off the Indian ground, into which, the commissioners said, they had intruded; *second:* For satisfaction about a book, wherein, the commissioners said, there were gross things penned; *thirdly:* For satisfaction for wrong done for both Indians and English; *fourth:* For charges, which the commissioners said, the settlers had caused by forcing this army.

Gorton and his adherents answered these charges. To the *first charge*, As to the title of the territory—they said the territory was theirs, that they had purchased it of Miantonomy and Pomham, and paid them for it and had title to it. *Second.* As to the book

Digitized by Google

and its contents—they were willing to submit that matter to indifferent judges, both as to the contents of the book, and the satisfaction. As to the *third charge*—If they have done any wrong, they were willing to make full satisfaction. As to the *fourth charge*—if the arbitrators should determine that they were the cause of raising the force, they would give satisfaction for that.

The witnesses suggested the settlement of the controversy upon the basis of arbitration as proposed. To this letter, Governor Winthrop replied, declining to interfere and advising that no violence should be done them by the soldiers or injustice by the Court in Boston. Upon the return of the messengers from Boston, the soldiers first proceeded to gather all the cattle of Gorton and his friends and gave notice the truce was at an end. The soldiers at once entrenched themselves and opened fire upon the unfortunate settlers, who had raised the English flag, but the soldiers repeatedly shot away the flag; Richard Scott and William Harris, aware of the return of the messengers from Boston, immediately repaired to the scene of hostilities, and spoke with the commissioners, who warned Scott and Harris, that if they attempted to communicate with the Warwick people, that they would be regarded as enemies, and would be fired upon as such. The fire of the soldiers was kept up upon these settlers for several days, and until the approach of the Sabbath—when Gorton indulged the hope that the sanctity of the day would afford them a day of rest—but in this, he and his friends were disappointed, for on the Sabbath morning, fire-works were prepared with the intention of burning the house, which had served as the settlers' fortress. The fire that was set to burn the house was extinguished. During all of this time, Gorton and his friends, though they had arms, did not fire upon their assailants. The soldiers attempted to take Gorton and his friends by assault—but the assault was repelled and the soldiers sent to Boston for an additional force. In this state of affairs, another parley was had and Gorton and his friends, (with the exception of John Greene, who had made his escape) consented to go to Boston upon a composition—for they had raised a point, as Gorton alleges, where they must use there weapons, surrender, or be put to the sword.

"It was agreed that they should go to Boston as citizens and freemen and not as prisoners." This agreement being made, the soldiers desired to see their houses. They were invited in and

Digitized by Google

given such provisions as the settlers had, but the soldiers treacherously seized their arms and then demanded that Gorton and his friends should be treated as captives in war, and that if any one attempted to escape, he should be knocked down or be run through. They took from the settlers about eighty head of cattle, besides hogs and goats—these, the assailants divided among themselves, upon the principle that "to the victor belongs the spoils."

Whatever might have been said of Samuel Gorton and his adherents, before he and they were attacked in their own homes by Massachusetts soldiers and carried to Boston, and paraded and humiliated before the door of Governor Winthrop, and arraigned in Court—where they demanded of the Governor that they should receive the treatment they had stipulated for upon their surrender (the Governor said to them that he cared not for the stipulations of Captain Cook, that they were now in his possession as prisoners, and that he would commit them to jail without bail). Gorton and his immediate adherents were at once, in the average opinion of mankind, canonized as martyrs, and the conduct of the soldiers, and indeed of the governing power of the Puritan colony, had earned for themselves the universal condemnation of posterity. But what followed upon the Warwick people on their arrival in Boston, aggravated the wrongs inflicted upon them, taking either Winthrop's account, or Gorton's, of their trial and sentence. The description of the trial and proceedings, in Boston, as given by Winthrop and Gorton, are generally in accord, but differ in one important particular. Gorton says, upon their arraignment before the Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, unto whom we complained how the Captain had used us, contrary to our articles, told me, "Whatever the Captain might express unto us, his (Winthrop's) intent was to have us as captives and their captives we now were—and unto the common jail we must go, without either bail or mainprize."

Winthrop says, that when the prisoners were brought before him and were delivered into our hands "They pleaded in their excuse, that they were not of the jurisdiction and that though they had yielded themselves to come and answer before us, yet they yielded not as prisoners." The Governor replied "That they were brought to him as taken in war and so their commissioners had informed him, but if they could plead any other matter or agree-

Digitized by Google

ment the commissioners had made with them, they must and should perform it." They made no further answer, but were committed to the marshal to be conveyed to the common prison." Gorton appears to rest the case of the prisoners as based upon a stipulation entered into with Captain Cook, but the Governor ignored Captain Cook in the matter of the terms of the capitulation and says that if the commissioners made any stipulation that he would carry out the stipulation made by them. This view of the question reconciles the statement of facts between Gorton and Winthrop, and in view of this mode of reconciling this discrepancy, the fact becomes important, which is stated by Governor Winthrop, that before the arraignment of Gorton and his friends, he "had a private interview with the commissioners." This mode of reconciling this testimony manifests a disposition on the part of the Governor to quibble with these persons, whom he was putting on trial, by showing that they made terms with a military commander, who went with an armed force to arrest them, whose command for more than a week had besieged their houses, and not with the commissioners, who had joined the military force, and between two of whom, Johnston and Atherton, and the Warwick settlers there existed a very bitter animosity.

Winthrop says, "The next Lord's day in the forenoon, the prisoners would not come to the meeting, so the magistrates determined they should be compelled. They agreed to come so as they might have liberty after the sermon to speak, if they had occasion."

The magistrates' answer was, that they did leave the ordering of the things in the church to the elders, but there was no doubt but they might have leave to speak, so as that they spoke the words of truth and sobriety. So, in the afternoon, they came and were placed in the fourth seat, right before the elders. Mr. Cotton taught, pleading for Diana's Silver Shrines and Temples, etc.

After sermon, Gorton desired leave to speak, which being granted, he repeated the points of Mr. Cotton's sermon, and coming to that of the "Silver Shrines," he said, that in the church, there was nothing now but Christ, so that all our ordinances, ministers, sacraments, etc., were but men's invention for show and pomp, and no other than those *silver shrines* of Diana. He also said that if Christ lived eternally, he died eternally.

Digitized by Google

When the General Court assembled to try the accused, there were present the Governor, magistrates and deputies, with the elders and ministers, (who were present to assist at the trial by their advice) and a large assembly of the populace. It was "lecture day" when the accused were brought forth from prison. The Governor arose and stated to the accused the cause and manner of the proceeding against them. The letters, one from Gorton and one from Randall Holden, were then read. Their answer was: *First.* That they were not personally within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. To this, the Governor answered, that they were either within Plymouth or Mr. Fenwick's, and *they* had yilded their power to Massachusetts in the proceedings, and if the accused were under no jurisdiction, then Massachusetts had none to complain to for redress of its justice and they must right themselves by force of arms or else sit still under all their reproaches and injuries, among which the prisoners uttered this insolent passage: "We do not more disdain that you should send for us to come to you, than you could do, if we should send for the chiefest among you, to come up to us for you to be employed to our pleasure in such works as we should appoint you." They were asked if they maintained what was written in the letters? The answer was, they did, in the sense in which they were written. The prisoners were then severally brought into court and separately examined as to the interpretation of the letters. The interpretations the accused gave, Winthrop says, were contradictory. They were then demanded to retract what they had expressed in the letters—this they refused to do, saying they would be denying the truth. Gorton maintained that the image of God, wherein Adam was created was Christ, and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoration of it, in regeneration, was Christ's resurrection, and so the death of him, that was born of the Virgin Mary, was but a manifestation of the form of the death and resurrection of Christ.

Winthrop says "They were all illiterate men, the ablest of them could not write true English, yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of Scripture, and worst than any way to give their own terms."

There were three of the accused persons, who escaped at Warwick. Two of them were sent for and went to the Court. One of them did not sign either of the letters, and he was discharged.

Digitized by Google

One gave his own bond to appear at the next term of the Court —some of his cattle were taken towards paying the charges, and he was permitted to go. One of the signers of the letters had died, and his estate was not proceeded against. The arms of all the men were taken—of these, the Court gave one fowling-piece to Pomham, the Indian Sachem of Shawomett, another piece was given to Soconoco, another chieftain of the Shawomett tribe, and they were granted liberty to have powder. The sentences of the Court were as follows: "It is ordered that Samuel Gorton shall be confined to Charlestown, there to be set to work and to wear such bolts and irons as may hinder his escape, and to continue during the pleasure of the Court, provided that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the meantime, either by speech or writings publish, declare or maintain any of the blasphemies or abominable heresies, wherewith he has been charged by the General Court, contained in either of the two books sent us by him or Randall Holden, or shall reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these United Colonies, or the civil government, or the public ordinances of God therein (unless it be by answer to some questions propounded to him, or conference with any elder or with any other licensed to speak with him private, under the hand of one of the assistants), that immediately upon the accusation of any such writing or speech, he shall by such assistant be brought and be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there to be tried by a jury, whether he hath so spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death and executed." This sentence was passed November 3, 1643.

(To be concluded in next Number.)

Digitized by Google

THE TITLE AND OFFICE OF SCHEPEN.

It is a very curious fact that although the title and office of *Schepen*, which it is to be supposed was perfectly understood throughout every province or colony under the authority of the Seven United States, or Provinces of Holland, there are no authorities which agree in regard to the duties and powers exerted by this class of officers. *

In France, the corresponding official was styled *Echevin*, who is described as one elected to exercise charges over the police or the general affairs of a city, and this title was borne by such at Paris, at Lyons and at Marseilles; whereas at Toulouse he was styled *Capitoul*, at Bordeaux *Jurat*, in other cities Consul. The English significations given by Fleming and Tibbins are Sheriff, Alderman, Eschevin. The equivalents of these titles are hardly reconcilable. For instance, at Toulouse, the *Capitoul* was "the first magistrate of the city," who had all the executive authority of a sheriff. Any one who jostled with a *Capitoul* in Toulouse, would find that he had come in contact with a snag with the prerogatives of a little king. However, it may be well to observe here that a *Schepen* in New Amsterdam was an *Echevin* in Rotterdam, for one of the writer's ancestral relatives and namesake held that office in the latter city about 1700, and he was a lawyer of the highest grade, a requisite perhaps for the office.

"According to the 'National Review,' (represented in 'Littell's Living Age,' 2509, 30 on July, 1892, 318 (2) 'The Executive power' [of a Commune] (each town forms a single and separate Commune) 'is vested in a Burgomaster' (Mayor) and two or more Westhouders (French Echevins). The latter office is paid, and is no sinecure in large places."

* ECHEVIN, or its equivalent in Holland, is derived from the German *Schaben*, or *Sceben* (almost exactly *Schepen*), SCABINUS, in Base-Latin, which signifies a *judge* or learned person, a scholar. (According to Du Cange, *Scabinus* and *Procurator* were equivalent as also, translating into French and exemplifying Echevin; Scabini Synodales were ecclesiastical officers.) The Franks (German or Teuton) brought with them this term into Gaul (Romanized Celtic). This was towards the middle of the VII. Century, the title of the Assessors or Counsellors of Counts. The military men (*Gens d'Epée*) who, during the reign of Clovis (Louis) II assisted Aigulphus, Count of the Palace, to dispense justice, were entitled *Echevins du Palais*. There is mention also of *these* Echevins in a Chronicle of Louis-le-Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, (A. D. 781-840) and in a Charter of his son Charles-le-Chauve (A. D. 823-877). Afterwards, the Echevins were municipal officers charged, during a certain term, with the police and the business of cities and towns. In France, after the Revolution (1788-1804), municipal officers (so styled) were substituted for Echevins and the former by the present Mayors and their Deputies or Assistants. Finally Du Cange gives "Echevinus, Judex Urbanus (City judge)" Echevin and Schepen.

Digitized by Google

It would seem that Westhouder is an error of spelling and should be written Wethouder, which by Halma is translated Regent (Magistrate) : De Heeren Van de Wet, the Magistrates Schepen, Eschevin, Judge, Sheriff—which are not consistent with our understanding of the authority or duties of the officers bearing the different titles.

"The Government of every town was administered by a Senate (Wethouderschap), formed by two, three or four burgomasters and a certain number of sheriffs (Schepenem), generally seven. The duties of the Senate were to provide for the public safety by keeping the city walls and fortifications in repair, to call out and muster the burgher guards in case of invasion or civil tumult, to administer the finances, to provide for the expenses of the town by levying excises on different articles of consumption, and to affix the portion of county taxes to be paid by each individual."*

Douglas Campbell in "The Puritan in Holland, England and America," I., 150–151, II., 329–330, furnishes the following explanation :

"In Holland, and in the Northern Provinces generally, the form of town government was somewhat simpler. The Senate was composed of two, three or four Burgomasters, and a certain number of Schepens or Sheriffs, generally seven. Together these officers administered the affairs of the town, but the Schepens sitting alone formed a civil and criminal court. The sovereign was represented by an official called a Schout, whom he appointed, but sometimes from three candidates named by the Senate. A great council of the citizens possessing certain qualifications, met annually, and chose eight or nine 'Good Men ;' these in turn elected the Burgomasters and the candidates, from whom the Schout, as representative of his master, selected the Schepens."

"The men who administered affairs in the Netherlands were of a very different class from the favorites and greedy courtiers who swarmed around the Stuarts. The representatives who made its laws bore little resemblance to the illiterate country squires, some of them mere boys, who at intervals, often of many years, trooped up to London to sit for a few weeks in Parliament. In Holland, no man could be appointed to a Schepenship—an office combining some of the duties of a sheriff, judge, and legislator—until he had attained the age of thirty, and for the office of

* Davies, History of Holland and the Dutch ; London, 1851, vol. 1, p. 77.

Digitized by Google

Burgomaster the limit was forty years."—(Geddes John De Witt, pp. 28–45.)

This was a Roman idea. (Pliny's Letters, x. 83.) Under the Constitution of the United States, no one can sit in the House of Representatives until the age of twenty-five, or in the Senate until the age of thirty. This is a minor difference between the English and American systems, but not unimportant. The men who filled these offices and who ruled the municipalities and state were all men of education. Most of them could speak two or three languages. Trained at the universities or at the famous classical schools of Holland, no one among the governing classes felt that his education was complete without several supplementary years of foreign travel. They traveled largely to learn the customs and mode of doing business in other countries, and all their acquisitions were at the service of their native land. If they sought office, it was for the honor, and not for the emoluments. Most of the offices were unpaid, and those to which a salary was attached presented no temptation to the needy.

The majority of the ruling class were engaged in industrial pursuits. They held office for short terms, soon going back to their constituents. Probably no body of men governing a State were ever more enlightened and better acquainted with the necessities of legislation than were these burghers, merchants, and manufacturers, who for two centuries gave laws to Holland.

It was largely due to the intelligence displayed by these men that the Republic, during the continuance of its war, was enabled to support a burden of taxation such as the world has rarely seen before or since. The internal taxes were appalling. Rents were taxed twenty-five per cent.; on all sales of real estate two and a half per cent. were levied, and on all collateral inheritances five per cent. On beer, wine, meat, salt, spirits, and all articles of luxury, the tax was one hundred per cent., and on some articles this was doubled.

The only way to reconcile these different settings forth of the duties and powers of Schepens, is that their authority and peculiar services were not exactly the same in different provinces, cities, communities and colonies of the United States of Holland; just as in France, although the Capitoul, a Jurat, a Consul, and other titles were considered equivalents of Echevin in Paris, it is well known that the relative power exerted by such officials was very

Digitized by Google

much greater at Toulouse, at Bordeaux and in some other French municipalities, than Parisian Echevins did exert.

In the Century Dictionary, the signification of Echevin would seem to be sheriff or justice, and of Schepen, "Dutch, a magistrate, justice. In Holland, and in the Dutch settlements in America, one of a Board of Magistrates corresponding nearly to associate justices of a Municipal Court, or to English Aldermen."

Extensive reading results in the conclusion that a Dutch Schepen of New Amsterdam had a great deal more extensive authority than what is recognized as attributable to an alderman, since a Schepen's jurisdiction or duties comprised not only those of a law making power, but a judicial and also an executive combining much that is now considered absolutely peculiar to a legislator, to an alderman, to a police justice of the highest rank and to a sheriff.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

Digitized by Google

SAN JACINTO.*

The air to which the Texas army marched into the battle of San Jacinto. "Remember Goliad! Remember the Alamo!" were the watchwords of the Texans at San Jacinto.

"Come to the Bower," they sang.
Immortal spirits crowned with flame,
On yonder heights of radiant bloom,
From freedom's deathless fields they came,
From mountain pass and prison gloom.
Dyed with the blood of Marathon,
Drenched by Salamis's bitter sea,
From where the sun of Leuctra shone,
And from thy rocks Thermopylæ.

"Come to the Bower," they sang;
The old Paladins cased in mail,
Whose standards sparkled to the morn,
And Peers and Princes from the Vale
Where Roland blew his mighty horn,
And Scottish chiefs from Bannockburn,
And English knights from Ascalon,
And sturdy hearts whose memories turn
Toward Bunker Hill and Lexington.

"Come to the Bower," they sang;
Come join our deathless throng and glow
Like us, while heaven and earth shall stand.
But yesterday the Alamo
Unbroken, sent its glorious band,
And Goliad from a reeking field,
Passed up her heroes crowned with flowers.
Behold us! come with sword and shield,
And back in fame's immortal bowers.

* In the National Magazine for March, 1893, was published a fac-simile of "Capt. Potter's Hymn of the Alamo." This was furnished by Charles Burr Todd, and accompanied by the following note: "In the summer of 1891, I met in New York, Judge Bell, of Texas, a gentleman intimately acquainted with most of the historic characters of the Lone Star State. In his reminiscences of the Alamo he remarked that he had the original MSS. of Captain Reuben Potter's spirited verses 'The Alamo,' and at my earnest request allowed me to take it to an engraver and have a fac-simile made.

"Within my knowledge the only other poem on this subject, vying with Captain Potter's in merit, is that of Mrs. Mollie E. Moore Davis, read at the unveiling of a monument to the heroes of the Alamo and of San Jacinto, at Galveston, Texas, in July 1, 1879, which is added for comparison. Judge Bell's death in Texas last Autumn added to the value of the fac-simile.

CHARLES BURR TODD."

Together with Mrs. Davis' poem, San Jacinto, we reproduce the facsimile of the "Hymn of Alamo" for comparison.

Digitized by Google

By San Jacinto's placid stream
The warriors heard, and shining far
They saw the splendid morning gleam
Of one imperial changeless star;
They followed where its gleaming led,
To Hope, to Peace, to Victory,
For from beneath her martyr dead
Behold, a nation rise up free;

Lo, now, around the hallowed stone
They press, the living and the dead,
And banners on the air are thrown
And quick and stirring orders sped.
Houston and Sherman, brave Lamar,
Millard and Hockley close around
And here with steady swinging step,
A phantom sentry makes his rounds.

"Goliad! Alamo!" Hark the cry
Amid the rolling of the drums,
Hark! the "twin sisters"* hoarse reply
Upon the battle breeze that comes.
Stand back for rank and file press by
Awearied in the sunset's glow,
And in their midst they bear on high
The broken sword of Mexico.

Texas, the Queen of States, whose crown
Wrought by the hand of heroes, shines
Like some prophetic sun adown
The glowing future's magic lines,
Arise, and with imperial tread
Draw near this consecrated place,
And bless them; own thy mighty dead
The saviours of thy glorious race.

MOLLIE E. MOORE DAVIS.

* Two cannon used in the battle, and named the "Twin Sisters."

Digitized by Google

Hymn of The Alamo

air. "Marseillien."

"Rise, man the wall, our clarion's blast,
Now sounds its final reveille.
This dawning morn must be the last
Our fated band shall ever see.
To life, but not to hope, farewell;
Yon trumpets clang, and cannons peal,
And storming shout and clash of steel
Are ours but not our country's knell.
Welcome the Spartans death—
'Tis no despairing strife—
We fall, we die; but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life."

"Here, on this new Thermopylæ
Our monument shall tower on high,
And 'Alamo' hereafter be
In bloodier fields the battle cry!"
Thus Travis from the rampart cried,
And when his warriors saw the foe
Like whelming billows move below,
At once each dauntless heart replied,
"Welcome the Spartans death—
'Tis no despairing strife—
We fall, we die; but our expiring breath
Is Freedom's breath of life."

They come—like autumn's leaves they fall;
Yet, hordes on hordes, they onward rush,
With gory tramp they mount the wall
Till numbers the defenders crush,
Till falls their flag when none remain.
Well may the ruffians quake to tell,
How Travis and his hundred fell
Amid a thousand foemen slain!
They died the Spartans death,
But not in hopeless strife—
Like brothers died and their capturing breath
Was Freedom's breath of life.

With the authors compliments to Judge Bell

Richard M. Potter

DAVENPORT AND ITS ENVIRONS.—I.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The tourist who obtains his first view of the Father of Waters as he approaches Davenport, Iowa, from the east is fortunate, for he will gain an impression of the beauty of the town as well as, the diversity of the surrounding scenery, which is unequalled by any other point on this great river so noted for picturesque scenery.

Davenport, built upon a series of commanding elevations that skirt the Mississippi's western bank, whether viewed from river or rail, or approached by country roads is, of itself, a unique and attractive city. But climbing to the summit of one of her high uplifted, verdure-clad hills that gently slope toward the water, the extensive view that greets the eye, without rivaling the grandeur of mountain scenery, is one of surpassing loveliness.

Here, the graceful sweep of the mighty river, gemmed with two islands, is clearly outlined. Above the undulating sea of tree tops of one, historic Rock Island, only the glistening roofs of the gigantic arsenal buildings, the tall chimney and the stars and stripes floating from lofty staff are disclosed to remind the beholder that this spot, so suggestive of peace, is devoted to the manufacture of implements of war.

The clustered towers and spires of three cities, that dot the landscape on both sides of the river, are here to be seen. Up and down the river the variegated green of meadow and fields of grain loses vividness in the grey of distance. In the day when the border of the Mississippi was the far west, this glorious picture was the inspiration of some of the most exquisite, as well as the most extravagant praise ever written.

The broad and swift flowing river that passes Davenport is also a boundary that separates Iowa from Illinois, but one of the most magnificent bridge structures that span the Mississippi closely unites her, in commercial and social intercourse, with her sister cities, Rock Island and Moline on the opposite shore.

Beginning about twenty miles above Davenport the Mississippi changes its course and flows southwesterly, resuming its southward course again at Muscatine, about thirty miles below.

Digitized by Google

MAP OF
DAVENPORT
AND VICINITY
WITH COAL FIELDS
N
LE CLAIRE
PORT BYRON
COAL
MINES
ROCK ISLAND
COAL MINES
ROCK RIVER
COAL MINES
COAL VALLEY
MILAN CITY
WATERTOWN
CARSON CLIFF
COAL MINES
COLONA
PACIFIC R.R.
CHICAGO, ROCK I. & PACIFIC
MISSISSIPPI
RIVER
PARK
GILBERT
CREEK

At the foot of fifteen miles of rapids, and directly opposite the eastern portion of the city, the river throws out an arm, that joins it again two and one-half miles below, embracing within its graceful curve the elliptic form of the most beautiful island in the Mississippi. Nearly five miles below Davenport, Rock river enters the Mississippi.

About all this region of country there is much interesting early history. The point of land formed by the junction of Rock river with the Mississippi, was until 1831, the site of the principal village of the Sac or Sauk tribe of Indians, that in 1820 numbered three thousand persons, six hundred of whom were warriors. The confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes, at one time, claimed all the territory extending seven hundred miles up and down the river, but of this sequestered spot on Rock river the Sacs had remained in uninterrupted and peaceful possession for upwards of a century.

They had eight hundred acres of land under cultivation. The women planted the corn and tended the fields. From here the braves went forth to, and returned from many a victorious battle field, and around the camp fires inspired the growing youth by recitals of valorous deeds. They roamed the vast prairies on both sides of the river for game, always returning with a perfect sense of security to their village home. They loved this home with all the tenacity of their fanciful savage nature.

It is not strange then, in those years, when the stream of civilization was steadily pushing its way towards the vast Mississippi valley and the broad and fertile fields, on which this prosperous village stood were becoming the coveted prize of invaders, that encroachment should be resisted by the Indian occupants.

The sad picture which De Tocqueville saw in 1831, lower down on the Mississippi could not be reproduced, without a contest, in the country presided over by the brave and fearless war chief Black Hawk. De Tocqueville graphically and pathetically describes the scene to which he was an eye-witness, in these words :

"It was in the middle of winter, and the cold was unusually severe ; the snow had frozen hard upon the ground and the river was drifting huge masses of ice. The Indians had their families with them ; and they brought in their train the wounded and the sick, with children new-born, and old men on the verge of death. They possessed neither tents nor wagons, but only their arms and some provisions. I saw them embark to pass the mighty river, and never will that solemn spectacle fade from my remembrance.

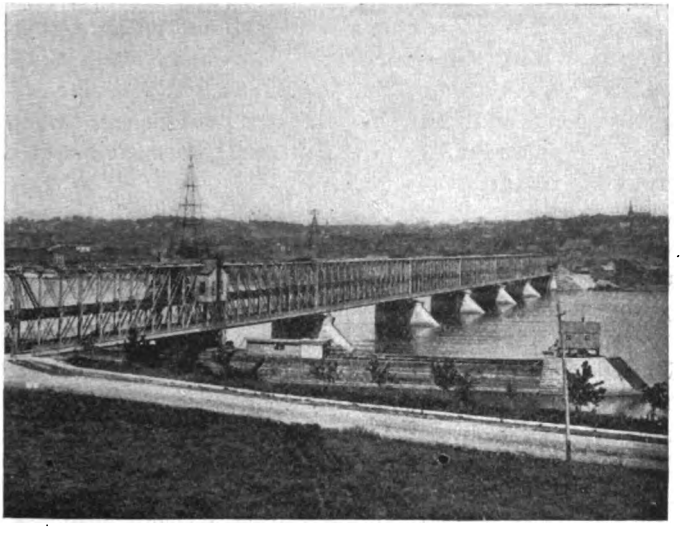
"No cry, no sob was heard among the assembled crowd ; all was silent. Their calamities were of ancient date, and they knew them to be irremediable.

Digitized by Google

"The Indians had all stepped into the bark which was to carry them across, but their dogs remained upon the bank. As soon as these animals perceived that their masters were finally leaving the shore, they set up a dismal howl, and plunging into the icy waters of the Mississippi swam after the boat."

Black Hawk and his braves were not so docile nor so easily dispossessed of the inheritance that they had received from their fathers. They conceived it to be the most sacred obligation imposed by the Great Spirit to defend the soil containing the remains of their ancestors.

When the order came to the Indians to remove their village west of the Mississippi, it was looked upon as an unwarrantable



VIEW OF DAVENPORT.

action on the part of the government to deprive them of the country that from time immemorial had been the red man's birthright.

"What right," said Black Hawk, "have these people to our village, and our fields which the Great Spirit has given us to live upon. My reason teaches me that land cannot be sold. The Great Spirit gave it to his children to live upon and cultivate as far as necessary for their sustenance, and so long as they occupy and cultivate it they have a right to the soil, but if they voluntarily

Digitized by Google

leave it, then other people have a right to settle on it. Nothing can be sold but such things as can be carried away."

The Sac nation, under the leadership of Black Hawk, joined the British in the war of 1812. The reason for doing this instead of maintaining a neutral position as had been agreed upon with the United States authorities, Black Hawk, in his autobiography, attributed to the broken pledges of the government in withholding promised supplies and the consequent suffering of his people.

He found that the many and fair promises of the government to Indians, when entrusted to its agents for execution, became brittle things, while on the other hand the few promises made by the British were always scrupulously fulfilled. Sometime after the conclusion of the war, the chiefs, both civil and military, that had been engaged were summoned to St. Louis to ratify a treaty. Black Hawk always claimed that he was at that time deceived by the government, and that he did not understand when he "touched the goose quill" to the paper that he was consenting to give away his village.

The treaty was, however, in this regard, simply a ratification of that of 1804, concerning which there are some conflicting accounts.

By this agreement, whether righteously obtained or not, and there is much evidence showing that it was not, the Sacs ceded to the United States all their valuable possessions east of the Mississippi, including their homes on Rock river, and this provision had been incorporated in all subsequent treaties down to the time that Black Hawk complained of being deceived.

In 1816, the year following the consummation of the treaty, Fort Armstrong was established upon Rock Island.

This was considered by Black Hawk as somewhat in violation of the spirit of the peaceful relations, which according to his understanding, had been entered into with the government, but he made no hostile demonstration. He feelingly refers to it in his autobiography in these words:

"We did not object, however, to their building their fort on the island, but were very sorry, as this was the best one on the Mississippi, and had long been the resort of our young people during the summer.

"It was our garden, like the white people have near their big villages, which supplied us with strawberries, blackberries, gooseberries, plums, apples, and nuts of different kinds. Being situated at the foot of the rapids, its waters supplied us with the finest fish.

Digitized by Google

"In my early day I spent many happy days on this island, a good spirit had charge of it which lived in a cave in the rocks immediately under the place where the fort now stands. This guardian spirit has often been seen by our people. It was white, with large wings like a swan's, but ten times larger. We were particular not to make much noise in that part of the island which it inhabited, for fear of disturbing it, but the noise at the fort has since driven it away, and no doubt a bad spirit has taken its place."

BLACK HAWK.

After the occupation of Fort Armstrong by government troops, Indian affairs in this locality continued comparatively quiescent for a few years, only now and then a thrilling incident, for the time being, occurring to disturb the friendly feeling early established.

Digitized by Google

between the two parties. Black Hawk, however, in spite of the explanations of his white brothers, continued in misunderstanding the terms of the treaty of 1804, and the succeeding ones confirming, contending that his nation had never ceded or forfeited their lands to the government.

It had been the policy of the United States, as well as one of the stipulations of the treaty referred to, to allow the Indians to occupy all this territory as long as it remained unsold. And it was only after the land occupied by the Indian village on Rock river had been surveyed and sold, that an attempt was made on the part of the government to take possession. White marauders were on the ground prior to this event, and by the most infamous means endeavored to take possession of the lands in the immediate neighborhood of the Indian village. During the absence of the tribe on its annual hunting expedition a burning torch was applied to the village, and some forty of the lodges consumed. Other exasperating depredations, in spite of repeated remonstrances, were constantly being committed by the whites.

In 1829, for the purpose of putting an end to this state of affairs, and also of dispossessing the Indians of the land in dispute, a survey was made and soon after it was sold to actual settlers. Black Hawk was officially notified of this fact in 1830. In accordance with the advice of a friend at the fort, Keokuk, a powerful young war chief of the Fox nation and rival of Black Hawk, removed with his own tribe and a large number of Sacs across the Mississippi in 1823.

Black Hawk became distrustful of the person who counseled this action and steadily refused to follow. In this decision he was warmly supported by his resolute adherents known as his "British Band." After receiving notice to vacate the lands, Black Hawk conferred with his British father and also with General Cass, at Detroit, and was advised by both that unless the lands had been sold to the government, he could not be disturbed. Meantime matters were continually growing more and more complicated between the Indian occupants of the village and the white settlers. Outrages on both sides were freely committed, until the whites resorted to a highly colored and inflammable memorial enumerating a long list of grievances, especially emphasizing the fact of the Indians going to a house, rolling out a barrel of whiskey and knocking in its head.

Digitized by Google

The Governor of Illinois ordered out the militia, and General Gaines, with a full regiment of soldiers, proceeded to Rock Island to quell the disturbance and protect the white settlers. Black Hawk, terrified by this demonstration, quickly retreated across the

KEOKUK, AT THE AGE OF 67.

river and a treaty was concluded which prohibited his return to his old home. This for a time seemed to put an end to the Indian troubles east of the Mississippi. But the deeply rooted attachment

Digitized by Google

of Black Hawk and his followers to the home of their fathers could not be stifled by paper treaties, and the promise obtained under compulsion was soon disregarded.

In the spring of 1832, after consultation with the prophet, Black Hawk decided to make an attempt to recover his lands. Unsuccessful in his efforts to obtain assistance from the British and friendly tribes of Indians, as had been promised by the oracle, he ventured across the river with only the remaining members of his faithful band. This movement, in direct violation of the treaty of the year previous, precipitated the final act in the struggle which has been greatly magnified by being named The Black Hawk War, the ultimate conclusion of which was the beginning of Davenport's history.

The prominent events of the war, after this time, are probably better known than the causes. From the battle of Stillman's Run, where fifty braves put to ignominious flight three hundred troops, to the battle of Bad Axe, which was "simply a victory of overpowering numbers over a starved remnant of a brave tribe," there is nothing particularly admirable to relate on either side. The prominence in our country's history of the names of the men who participated in this conflict, some at that time eminent and others who afterwards became famous, throws a glamour over it that invests it with more interest than anything else connected with the war. Generals Scott, Gaines and Taylor, Abraham Lincoln, Jefferson Davis, Phil. Kearney, and Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumpter fame, were all engaged in the struggle that proved so disastrous to the Indians and so profitable to the United States.

On the 21st of September, 1832, General Scott and his aids, together with Black Hawk and Keokuk, in consequence of the cholera which was raging among the soldiers at Fort Armstrong, repaired to the Iowa side of the river and concluded a new treaty. By this treaty the United States acquired from the Sacs and Foxes six million acres west of the Mississippi, known as the Black Hawk Purchase, which afterwards became a part of Iowa, the name being derived from an Indian word meaning "the beautiful land."

Keokuk reserved at this time a square mile of land to be presented to the wife of Antoine Leclaire, the government interpreter, on condition that the latter should build his house on the very spot occupied by the marquee of General Scott during the deliberations of the treaty.

Digitized by Google

The house was afterwards built and a part of the tract is that upon which Davenport now stands. Thus by an accident, a series of circumstances followed out of which Davenport came into existence.

Antoine de Clairo

The closing events of the Black Hawk war terminated the prominent part of the career of one of the most notable and interesting characters in Indian history. At this distance of time, while we fully recognize the justice of the principle embodied in the maxim, the greatest good to the greatest number, yet there is something sublimely heroic in the fruitless struggle that Black Hawk so persistently waged, irrespective of the creed of expediency, for the preservation of the inherent rights of his people.

With the scales of justice in one hand and the tomahawk in the other, this stoic moralist sought to become the executor of that "higher law" founded upon the eternal principles of freedom and equality. Black Hawk was superstitious and much given to philosophic speculations, therefore, easily misguided by the interpretations of the Will of the Great Spirit, as received from the Prophet. His powers of observation were remarkable; he frequently visited alone the high point of land which bears the name of Black Hawk's Watch Tower on Rock river, "where," he says, "I could sit and smoke my pipe, and look with wonder and pleasure, at the grand scenes that were presented by the sun's rays, even across the mighty waters."

Geo. Davenport

As the guest of the government, some time after the close of the war, Black Hawk, with his wife, visited Washington and several

Digitized by Google

of the large Eastern cities, and was profoundly impressed by what he saw. The restless spirit that had animated the fiery warrior chief became crushed at last by defeat, misfortune and disappointment, and to this was added the crowning humiliation of seeing Keokuk, his powerful rival, installed in his place as leader of his people.

When he visited his old home for the last time, in September, 1833, it was observed that he had become melancholy and remorseful. At that time, he expressed the desire to give to the world the story of his life, and it was dictated to Antoine Leclaire, United States interpreter, and prepared for publication by I. B. Patterson. Because of the kindness shown him, while a prisoner, Black Hawk dedicated his story to Brigadier General H. Atkinson.

The following quotation, which throws light upon the condition of Black Hawk's mind at that time, is from the dedication.

"I am now an obscure member of a nation that formerly honored and respected my opinions. The pathway to glory is rough, and many gloomy hours obscure it. May the Great Spirit shed light on yours, and that you may never experience the humility that the power of the American government has reduced me to, is the wish of him who, in his native forests, was once as proud and bold as yourself."

The motives and principles governing the actions of Black Hawk are ably set forth in his record, and are such as to inspire respect for the brave warrior and subtle philosopher.

Keokuk was clearer visioned than his illustrious predecessor. He was more practical. His judgment was based upon actual facts and conditions instead of sentiment. While Black Hawk in dreamy reverie was constructing a guiding philosophy founded upon the rights of humanity, Keokuk was putting himself in harmony with the new conditions that had been forced upon his people, and thus became a greater benefactor and a safer leader.

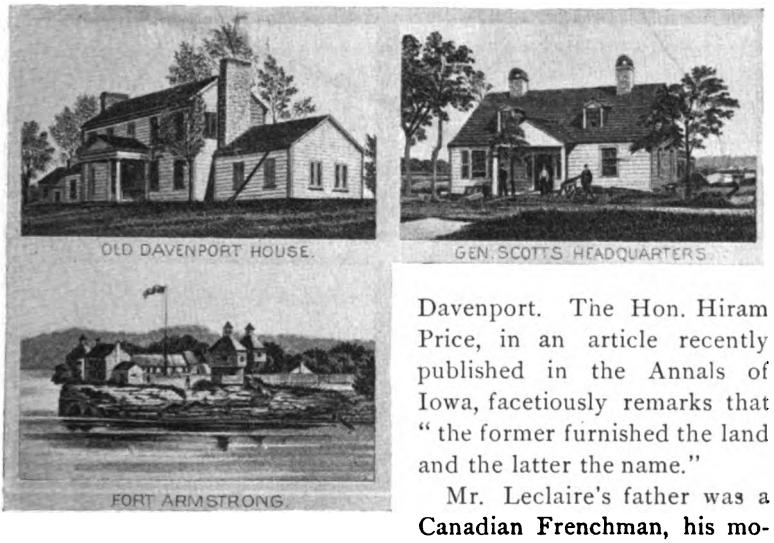
Though no monuments, save in names of rivers and towns and exhumed relics, remain to perpetuate the memory of the dauntless sons of the forest that inhabited this beautiful Davenport land, long ages before the earliest pioneers dreamed of its existence, "their legends whispered in every mind, in the falling leaf and feathery snow, and in all the cadences of the woods and shores," and their history should not be forgotten.

Digitized by Google

Facts, gleaned from Indian traditions, conclusively establish the belief that the first man to set foot on Iowa soil was Father Marquette, the French missionary, in June, 1673. And that the very spot on which he landed from the river is where the city of Davenport is now situated.

Historic legendary lore, in connection with recent mound explorations, also fixes this as the place where from time immemorial an Indian village existed.

From the close of the Black Hawk war until his death, the history of Antoine Leclaire is closely identified with the city of which he was the principal founder, his associate being Colonel George



Davenport. The Hon. Hiram Price, in an article recently published in the Annals of Iowa, facetiously remarks that "the former furnished the land and the latter the name."

Mr. Leclaire's father was a Canadian Frenchman, his mother a granddaughter of a Pottawatomie chief. After the close of the war of 1812, in which Mr. Leclaire was a soldier, he entered the service of the government and was placed in school that he might acquire a knowledge of the English language—French being then his only tongue, though it is said that he spoke some fourteen different Indian dialects. In 1818, he was called to Fort Armstrong as official interpreter. It was here that he became acquainted with Colonel Davenport, who had preceded him two years.

The acquaintance was cemented into a friendship that ultimately caused the two men to join in the common effort of founding and developing the city of Davenport. Mr. Leclaire married the grand-

Digitized by Google

daughter of the Sac Chief Acoqua (The Kettle), her father being a Canadian Frenchman. Mrs. Leclaire, like her husband, was a devout Catholic and was educated in a convent, speaking both English and French. She often accompanied her husband on his excursions among the Indians, when acting in the capacity of scout or interpreter.

Mr. Leclaire spent some time in the service of the government in Arkansas, returning to Fort Armstrong in 1827, where he remained until the treaty of 1832, acting as official interpreter for General Scott at that time.

The friendly relations established between himself and the people that through his agency received the knowledge that they must abandon forever their cherished homes and the graves of kindred, speaks more for his kindness and integrity than does all else that can be said of him. They loved him while living and loved his memory after his death. Annually delegations from the Sac and Fox nations made the pilgrimage to his home, on friendly visits, and they were always warmly welcomed, carrying away many a substantial token of his interest in them.

After Mr. Leclaire's death, in 1861, the Indians continued their visits to his wife, who survived him several years.

The gift of the reservation of three sections of land, two where Moline now stands, and one, fifteen miles above Davenport, on which the town of Leclaire was built, besides the one reserved by Keokuk at the time of the Black Hawk treaty, attest the esteem and gratitude of three different tribes to their faithful friend.

According to his promise, Mr. Leclaire built a house on the spot occupied by the council while making the treaty of 1832, but some years later he erected one of the most elegant residences of that time upon a bluff commanding one of the most extensive and beautiful views in the city.

From his scant biography as published, the following extract is taken.

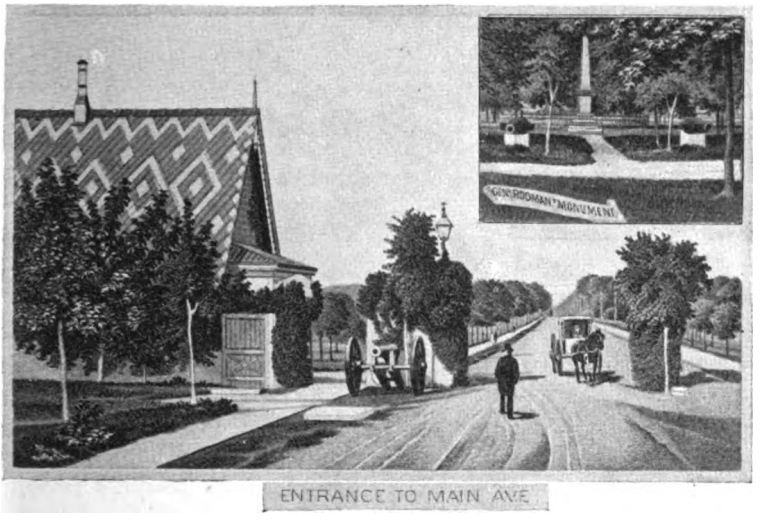
"Mr. Leclaire was one of the original proprietors of Davenport and was throughout the remainder of his life one of its most active and enterprising business men. He possessed great wealth for a man of his day, and improved the city in every way in his power by a liberal expenditure of his large income. He erected churches, hotels, and other public buildings at his own expense. St. Marguerite's, whose spire reaches from the lofty bluff till it almost seems to touch the quiet stars or to mingle with the cloudy glories of a summer's day, was built and furnished by the munificence of Mr. Leclaire. Everywhere over the fair city of Davenport are

Digitized by Google

scattered improvements, each of which elegantly and appropriately memorialize his generosity.

"His progress from the small white house on the depot grounds to the palatial mansion on the bluffs, his physical increase from a small frame to one of the most majestic and portly embodiments of the genus homo, present fine types both of his increase in wealth and the growth of the city which he was mainly instrumental in founding.

"It is to be regretted that a history of his life, embracing its lesser details could not have been obtained, as his whole career was replete with stirring incidents and romantic adventures. His name, however, will not be very soon forgotten, for it is recorded in the national archives, inscribed in lofty spire and sacred altar, and in wall and street in the city of which he is the parent. But more enduring than all these memorials of parchment, wood work and masonry, it is written upon the hearts of all who knew him that he was a philanthropist and a Christian."



ENTRANCE TO MAIN AVE.

Colonel Davenport, who was associated with Mr. Leclaire in founding the city that bears his name, was by birth an Englishman, who began his career at an early age as a sailor.

An accident causing his detention in New York, in 1804, decided his future destiny. The following year, in pursuance of the advice of a friend, he enlisted in the army of the United States, and from that time until the establishment of Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, he was in active service passing through some of the most thrilling adventures connected with Indian warfare. Upon the arrival of troops on Rock Island, the Indians, as has been stated, were very

Digitized by Google

much dissatisfied, but by the conciliatory policy of the officers and a few trifling presents, their confidence was soon gained and a friendly footing established that was never interrupted as long as the Indians remained in the vicinity.

Some time after his arrival at the Fort, Colonel Davenport recognizing the great opportunity that the situation offered for dealing with the Indians, in exchanging goods for furs, invested the money that he had accumulated in a stock of goods and began his career as "Indian trader."

This venture proved successful; a very profitable business grew out of it and several posts were eventually added to the original one. The situation, however, was not one of profit only, and the Colonel often found himself surrounded by perils requiring the greatest sagacity and courage from which to extricate himself.

Like Mr. Leclaire, Colonel Davenport, by his unswerving honesty, his humane and conscientious treatment of the savages, earned their lasting respect and love.

He had been the friend and counselor of Black Hawk and Keokuk, and at the request of the former purchased the lookout on Rock river that was so dear to the chief. The reason that Black Hawk gave for making this request was, that he could leave it with an abiding assurance that the graves of his people would be protected from vandal hands.

When death, by violence, July 4th, 1845, came to Colonel Davenport, in the house on the beautiful island that had been his home so many years, he was sincerely mourned by all who knew him.

Much could be written, but nothing added that would better illustrate the character of this noble man, than the tribute inscribed on the tablet that marks his last resting place:

"HERE LIES A FRIEND TO HUMANITY."

After the Sacs and Foxes were safely established on their western reserve a garrisoned fortress on Rock Island was no longer necessary, consequently, Fort Armstrong was soon after abandoned by government troops. This bright spot, however, in the greatest water highway in the world, with an area of nine hundred and seventy forest-clothed acres securely fastened to a bed of solid limestone, affording the greatest natural water power facilities, and numerous other advantages was never lost sight of when the subject of the location for a western armory came up for discussion. After the usual preliminary surveys and delays, an act of Congress,

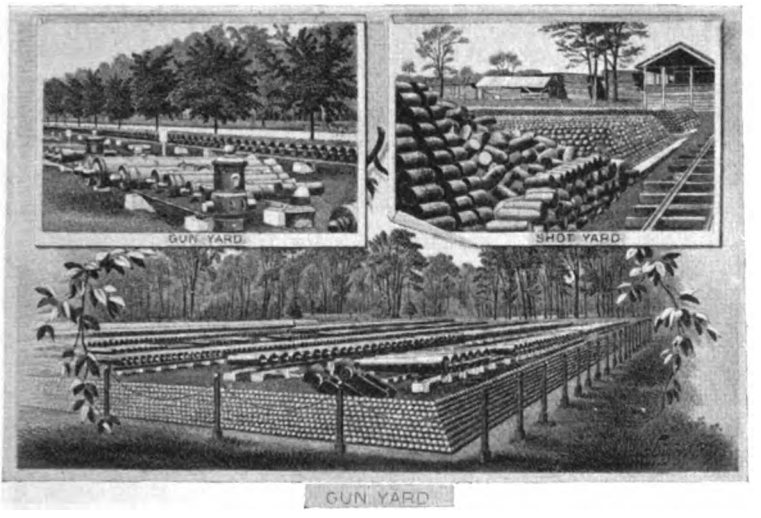
Digitized by Google

July 11th, 1862, locating a national arsenal on Rock Island was finally passed, and an appropriation of $100,000 was made with which to begin the work.

The ground was broken in September the following year for the first building, which was completed in 1864.

The same year, this beautiful retreat, in contrast to Libby and Andersonville, was utilized by the government as a station for the detention of war prisoners awaiting exchange.

The unpretentious, but not neglected, little cemetery in a retired part of the island tells its own story of the release that came to many while waiting. Not far distant is the National Cemetery, where



several hundred of our western patriots are at rest. On the day when the beautiful custom of commemorating the sacrifice of our nation's heroes is observed, by placing floral tributes on their earthly mounds, it often happens that in this quiet resting place, far from home and kindred, the graves of some of the brave boys that wore the gray are remembered.

In 1865, General Rodman was placed in command of the work at the arsenal. After completing the general plan, but before the execution of but a small portion of the work, he passed away, and was buried on the island. The enclosure containing his monument is flanked on each of the four corners with the gun which he invented and which bears his name.

Digitized by Google

Colonel D. W. Flagler succeeded General Rodman in 1872. Colonel Flagler brought to the work not only the zeal aud enthusiasm required in accomplishing great enterprises, but also the necessary ability. The grand achievements of his fourteen years of service at the arsenal are in a measure a monument to his personal efforts and supervisory care. Ten immense shops of solid masonry five stories in height, each covering an acre of ground, have been constructed. Magnificent officers residences, and business quarters have been erected, besides the construction of a water power of nearly 4,000 horse power. It is estimated that when the arsenal is completed it will have a capacity equal to supplying arms and equipments to an army of 750,000. Leading from broad macadamized and well kept avenues there are many miles, of shady drive as secluded and wild as though they traversed the heart of the wilderness.

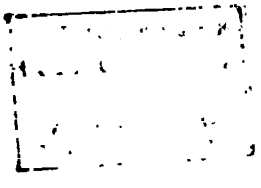
It was Colonel Flagler's desire to retain, in connection with the more substantial work, all the natural beauties and attractions of this historic spot, and the preservation of the old landmarks, wherever possible, still invests the island with romantic interest. Here the squirrel, and a great variety of birds are thoroughly domesticated. The imposing tiers of cannon balls possess no terrors, with the time honored order prohibiting the firing of any ball upon the island, always observed.

In 1886, when Colonel Flagler was ordered to another field where his constructive genius and executive ability were in demand, the uprooting of his attachment caused sorrow nearly akin to misery. The fascinations of this enchanted spot were as irresistible to the grizzly soldier as they had been to the savage. If he could not spend all the days of his army service on this island, he hoped upon retirement to repair to one of Davenport's bluffs where he could gaze upon the city for the remainder of his days.

But in the army no man can control his destiny, and General Flagler, as Chief of Ordinance at Washington, was reserved for greater honors.

M. Peck.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

D. P. Peck

EMINENT AMERICAN SURGEONS.

DR. WASHINGTON F. PECK.

Within the past three years the grim reaper who is no respecter of persons, seems to have gathered to himself an unusually large number of those, who, in traversing the various avenues of life, had reached eminences which kept them at all times in public view. The names of men who have made history, brightened the pages of science, and added greatly to the sum of human achievement, seem to have been unusually numerous on the death roll of these later years, and in no one of the fields of labor to which their endeavors have been confined, has a greater number of names been transferred from the roll of the illustrious living to the roll of the illustrious dead, than in the field of medicine. In this profession, the department of surgery, in particular, has lost some of its brightest lights, its greatest minds, its most skillful operators. It is well known to ordinarily intelligent laymen that the progress of surgery, within the past decade, or certainly within a score of years last past, has amounted in effect to a revolution; and among the men who have passed away within the period named, have been some of those who were chiefly instrumental in bringing about this revolution. The names of MacKenzie, Hamilton, Barker, Sayre, Greene, Parkes, and that of the subject of this paper, Dr. Washington F. Peck, have been associated with an era of improvements in methods, of new discoveries, and remarkable operations which has had no parallel in the history of surgery.

These were progressive minds, which could not be confined within circumscribed limits. They were so constituted that they could not be content to follow beaten paths, and with intellectual breadth, they combined the skill of hand which wrought results deemed at the time almost marvelous.

Dr. Peck belonged to the very limited number of surgeons whose field of operations has been the "Great West," who have achieved national and international renown. All the years of his professional life were devoted to practice in this western field, but in birth and education he was the product of an eastern state and an eastern school.

Digitized by Google

Washington Freeman Peck was born in the town of Galen, Wayne County, New York, January 22d, 1841. His father was William H., and his mother Alida (Hawes) Peck, both natives of the Empire State, but of differing antecedents as to nationality, the father being of Scotch, and the mother of Dutch lineage. Dr. Peck's early education was of the kind ordinarily termed a good English education, and the bent of his mind was so fully toward medicine that he began the systematic study of this science when but eighteen years of age. Entering Bellevue Medical College of New York, he enjoyed the distinction of being the first student to matriculate in the first medical college of this country, which successfully combined clinical with didactic teaching. In 1863 he graduated from this institution with the highest class honors, having served during two years of his course as house surgeon of Bellevue Hospital, where he laid the foundation for his skillful practice of later years.

Immediately after completing his college course, he entered the government military service as surgeon, and during the eighteen months next following he was stationed most of the time at Washington, where his skillful operations in Lincoln General Hospital attracted attention, and won for him official commendation.

In 1864 he located at Davenport, Iowa, and while engaging in general practice sought as far as possible to give special attention to surgery. His intense activity and evident capacity soon gained for him substantial recognition in his new field, and he at once became a prime factor in elevating and improving the character of the medical profession in the State of Iowa. In 1866, he was made secretary of the Scott County Medical Society, a few years later became its president, and in 1876 was advanced to the presidency of the Iowa State Medical Society. These recognitions served to show the impress which he made upon the medical profession of Iowa early in his career, and the rapidity with which he moved forward to a commanding position among his associates.

Within a year after his location in Iowa, he returned to New York state, and married Miss Maria Purdy, of Wayne county, and this union was one happily entered into, not only in a domestic sense, but in contributing to his professional advancement. Mrs. Peck brought into the family circle not only the grace and intelligence which make a happy home, but a capacity for the practical conduct of affairs which left her husband free to devote himself entirely to his chosen calling without detriment to those business interests upon

Digitized by Google

which the acquisition of fortune, along with fame, must always be dependent. From the beginning of his career, he was absorbed in his profession, and gave to his work the best thought, the closest study, the widest range of reading, and the most careful investigation of which a broad intellectuality is capable, and the results of this earnest, persistent and undivided effort were apparent in what he accomplished.

To the educational work of the profession Dr. Peck at once addressed himself with the ardor of an enthusiast, and to him the State of Iowa is indebted for the Medical Department of its State University, an institution which reflects credit on its founder, and upon the great state by which it is fostered and supported. In 1868, he conceived the idea of building up a medical college in Iowa, which would afford facilities for the first class education of young men desiring to enter the medical profession, and in order that the institution might be established upon a permanent basis, he determined to make it a department of the State University at Iowa City. He first laid his plans before Judge John F. Dillon, now of New York, then a distinguished citizen of Davenport, and secured his hearty co-operation. Then, in June of 1869, a comparatively unknown young man, he presented himself before the trustees of the University, and proposed the creation of a medical department. He came before the Board unheralded, but full of the subject with which he had to deal, enthusiastic in his expectations and eloquent in his appeals for liberal treatment of his profession by the officials of what should be a university, in fact as well as in name. Surprising as it may seem, he carried the Board with him, and the preliminary steps were taken toward the establishment of the Medical School. In those days, however, the University was poor, and from the day it was founded, the medical department was in financial straits. An organization was not effected, or at least perfected, until 1870, and this was accomplished in the face of difficulties of the most discouraging and perplexing kind. When the organization was finally completed, Dr. Peck was made professor of surgery, became dean of the faculty, and the executive head of the department of medicine. Then came the struggle to secure the needed assistance from the state legislature, to overcome hostility engendered by professional rivalry, and to carry on at the same time a work which would compel recognition and approval of the project. At another city in the state a medical college had been established at an earlier date,

Digitized by Google

calling itself a department of the State University and with an ambition to be recognized as such. The charter of the University, however, precluded such recognition of an institution not located at Iowa City, and the plan proposed by Dr. Peck was the only feasible proposition for connecting a medical course with the University course. Nevertheless, new antagonisms and sectional jealousies were aroused to such an extent that at times the advancement of the project seemed almost hopeless. Year after year the struggle continued and the indomitable will-power, the high courage and ceaseless effort of Dr. Peck contributed more than anything else to final success. Supported by a loyal and competent faculty he made the medical department an institution which commanded the respect and admiration of all those who were interested in the general upbuilding of the University, and by and by the opposition to it ceased, appropriations for its maintenance were freely made and its founders realized the full fruition of their hopes.

Soon after he came to Davenport, Dr. Peck was made local surgeon of the Rock Island Railroad Company, At that time the company had no organized medical department, nor is it probable that any such department was connected with a western railroad, if indeed any of the railway corporations of the country had progressed to that extent. The work which came to Dr. Peck, however, as local railway surgeon, was well done; so well that it commended him to the great and constantly growing corporation, and in 1875 he was designated to act as surgeon-in-chief of the company; and to him was assigned the task of organizing its medical and surgical department. To this task he addressed himself with an energy and tenacity of purpose which precluded the possibility of failure, evincing executive ability of as high character as his professional attainments, and the result was the organization of a medical department of the Rock Island Railway Company, which is to-day pronounced by competent judges the best and most efficient organization of its kind in the United States. As chief of this department, Dr. Peck had on his surgical staff during the later years of his life, nearly one hundred surgeons, located at different points on the lines of the railway company, and his personal attention was given to a vast amount of surgical work. His labors in this field gained for him wide distinction, and when he summed up the results of his experience and observation in a paper read before the American Medical Association, while acting as chairman of the surgical section of the association, his paper

Digitized by Google

was published in all the leading medical journals of America, and also in the principal medical journals of Europe, translated in numerous foreign languages.

With the extension of his practice, with surgery as his specialty, the character of the operations successfully performed by Dr. Peck, attracted attention, and made him famous not only among his professional brethren, but among the people at large. As early as 1882, he had successfully performed the operation for the relief of appendicitis, which consists in the removal of the *vermiform appendix*. It is not known that Dr. Peck (whose modesty was a distinguishing characteristic), ever made any claim of originality of method in this operation, but the statement of other eminent physicians is to the effect that the operation was the first of the kind performed in the United States.

An active member of the American Medical Association, in addition to being honored with the chairmanship of the surgical section, he served as vice-president of the association. He was also elected without his knowledge or solicitation, a member of the American Surgical Association (an organization so exclusive in its character that its membership is limited to one hundred). In 1886, he went abroad to find that his fame had preceded him, and that physicians, scientists and public officials in the old world were by no means unfamiliar with his name and achievements. At this time he spent six months in study and travel on the Continent, and in England, Scotland and Ireland, and in 1890 he again went abroad as a delegate to the International Medical Congress, held in Berlin, and to the British Medical Association, which met at Birmingham.

With the inception and building up of the local charitable institutions of Davenport, Dr. Peck was hardly less conspicuously identified than with the building up of the State Medical College of Iowa City. He originated the idea of establishing a hospital in Davenport, and set on foot the movement which resulted in the evolution of an institution which has now no superior of its kind west of Chicago. In 1867, Father Palamorgnes, purchased the building and grounds of the former Academy of the Immaculate Conception, and later at Dr. Peck's suggestion, the building was converted into a hospital. It was placed in charge of the Sisters of Mercy, was christened Mercy Hospital, and with Dr. Peck as physician and president of the board of managers it developed into the splendid institution of the present time. He was one of the founders of

Digitized by Google

Mercy Hospital at Iowa City, and the Orphans' Home, of Davenport, now a noted State institution, admirably managed and splendidly equipped for the noble work of caring for homeless orphan children, is also largely a creature of Dr. Peck's kindly sympathy and intelligent effort, and for twenty-four years it was under his fostering care as physician-in-charge.

Busy as he was with the exacting duties of his profession, driven hither and thither by the demands of an extensive practice, he found time to do a vast amount of charitable and educational work, but the strain which he thus put upon himself was too great, and the breaking down of his health, and death, came at a comparatively early age. From an illness which began in 1888, he never fully recovered, and in the summer of 1891, he was compelled to retire in part from educational, and largely from professional work.

He tendered his resignation as professor of surgery in the medical department of the State University of Iowa, and on the 16th of June, 1891, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Board of Regents:

Whereas, on account of illness Dr. W. F. Peck has found it necessary to tender his resignation as Professor of Surgery in the Medical Department, and

Whereas, it has seemed absolutely necessary that said resignation be accepted; therefore

Resolved, that we take this occasion to express our deep regret that the time has come when Dr. Peck must sever his active relations with the University. We recognize that to his untiring industry, his keen, practical good sense, his great reputation in the state and nation as a surgeon, the department owed the largest measure of its success. He, it was, who organized the medical department nearly a quarter of a century ago, under circumstances that would have daunted one less courageous; he has watched it and nurtured it with rare devotion through all its vicissitudes, and it has grown with the years under his earnest and wise care, until it stands as a fitting monument to his ability and devotion.

Resolved, that Dr. W. F. Peck be appointed Emeritus Professor of Surgery, and that he be requested to retain his connection with the University and give us the benefit of his advice, and when health will permit, that he will still give instruction by lecture or otherwise

Digitized by Google

in that department, with the hope that his days may be long in the land to aid and counsel us.

Resolved, that this resolution be spread on the minutes, and that an engrossed copy thereof be forwarded to Dr. Peck.

During the summer and fall of 1891, his health steadily failed, and on the 12th of December of that year the end came.

His death occasioned general grief throughout the State of Iowa, and from all portions of the western states distinguished physicians, educators, public officials, and members of the Knights Templar organization (of which he had been an Eminent Commander), came to Davenport to attend the obsequies and pay tribute to his worth and public services.

His only son, Robert Peck, is following in the footsteps of his father in the medical profession, and at the present time, while pursuing a course of study abroad, is representing the United States government as sanitary inspector at the port of Hamburg. His only surviving daughter is the wife of Hon. Henry Volmer, a brilliant young lawyer, who is the present Mayor of the city of Davenport. Another daughter, who had just reached a most attractive and promising young-womanhood, died in 1888.

Digitized by Google

THE WESTERN BAR.

HON. JAMES GRANT.

On the 14th of March, 1891, Judge James Grant died at Oakland, California, and when the news of his death was passed from one to another, at his home in Davenport, Ia., "almost every one in Davenport," said the *Daily Democrat*, of that city, commenting editorially on his death, "felt that he had lost a personal friend."

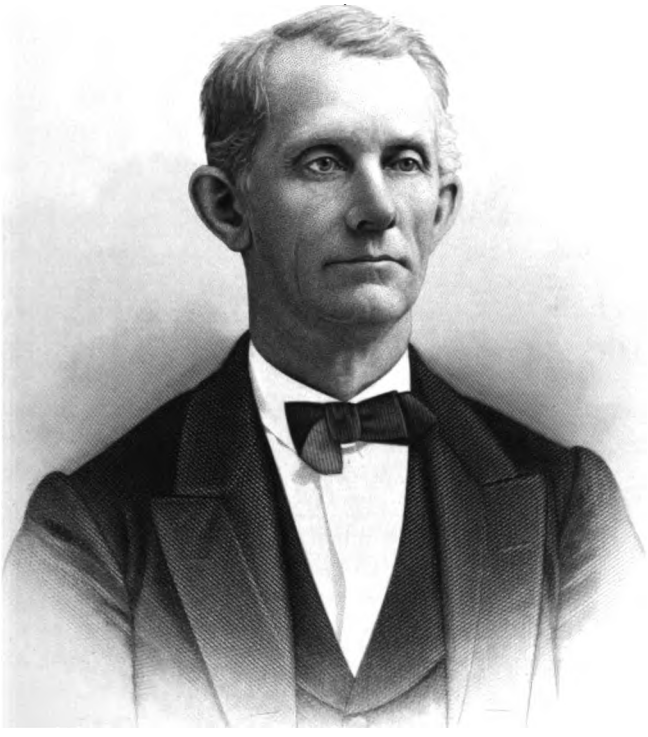
For fifty years and more, Judge Grant had been so conspicuous a figure in the beautiful little city on the banks of the Mississippi river, so intimately had he been associated with its progress, its development, and its material growth and prosperity, that like the rugged bluffs, which look down on the "Father of Waters," he seemed a part of the city itself. A landmark which could not be removed. A physical presence which must remain, and abide with it, withstanding the ravages of time.

Before Davenport was a municipality, or a hamlet even, Judge Grant was a conspicuous member of the western bar, and from the very inception of the town, he had been recognized as a promoter of its best interests. Strong, able, intensely active, brusque in manner, but generous and hospitable in his instincts, he was an interesting figure and a distinguished pioneer of the territory with which he became identified, before its evolution into a state.

He was of southern parentage, and Scotch and English lineage. Born near the village of Enfield, Halifax county, North Carolina, December 12, 1812, he was the son of James Grant, and the grandson of that James Grant, of the Highland clan, who drew his broadsword in support of the Pretender, at Culloden, and was later transported, with other rebellious subjects of the Crown, to the colony of North Carolina. His mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Whitaker,* was a native also of North Carolina, and lineal descendant of the Episcopal minister, Alexander Whitaker, who baptised Pocahontas, and was noted among the early Virginia colonists. Mat. Cary Whitaker was the father of Mrs. Grant, and another of his daughters

* Martha and Elizabeth Betsey Cary married two Whittaker brothers, and their descendants were always designated as the Cary Whittakers.

Digitized by Google



James Grant

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

became the mother of the United States senator, Mat. Whitaker Ransom, of North Carolina.

Judge Grant's father was born on a plantation, and brought up under the "old regime," with a comfortable fortune at his command. Possessed of abundance in his early life, he was master of no trade or profession, knew little about the proper conduct of business affairs, and before he had reached middle age, his patrimony had drifted away from him, and his estate was impoverished. Judge Grant was the second of his eight children, and was the kind of boy styled precocious. When he was eight years old, he began going to school, his mother having previously taught him his letters. This was the sum total of his educational accomplishments, when his school life began, but in ten months he could spell every word in Walker's dictionary. From that time forward, he was first in his classes, and equally conspicuous in the field and other sports of that era and region of country. Having been fitted for college in the Academies of that period, it was proposed that he should enter the freshman class of the State University, at Chapel Hill, when he was thirteen years of age, and he was fully competent to assume that rank in the college course. He was, however, small of his age; so small that the president of the institution advised his father to keep him at home two years longer, and then let him join an advanced class. This advice, says one who has written of him in the annals of Iowa, published by the State Historical Society, "was followed, and he entered the Sophomore class of 1828, having among his schoolmates J. D. Hooper, Thomas Owen, Allan and Calvin Jones, Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior under President Buchanan, James M. Williamson, and others, who achieved distinction in later years."

Before he was eighteen years of age, he graduated from the University and then taught school three years at Raleigh. When he was twenty-one years of age, he immigrated to the northwest, because he had an intense dislike of slavery, and wanted to get out of a slave state. He came from North Carolina to Illinois, and having read law while teaching school, he obtained a license to practice his profession, and settled in Chicago, in January of 1834. His talents, his energy and his combativeness, combined to bring him into prominence, and he was appointed by Governor Joseph Duncan, prosecuting attorney for the sixth district of Illinois, in which was included all the northern portion of the State. The

Digitized by Google

district had to be travelled over on horseback, and the young attorney travelled about three thousand miles a year, until he resigned the position, in 1836. He remained in Chicago until the summer of 1838, when he reached the conclusion that the lake winds affected his health injuriously, and removed to that portion of Wisconsin territory, which soon after was erected into the territory of Iowa.

Locating on a large farm near what is now the city of Davenport, he brought the land under cultivation, introduced the first blooded stock brought into Scott county, if not into the territory, and for a time was inclined to give up his profession. He did much, at this time and later, to advance the agricultural interests of Iowa, but soon resumed the practice of law. In 1841, he was elected a member of the territorial legislature, and sat as a delegate in the first constitutional convention of Iowa, in 1844. In 1846, he was a member also of the second constitutional convention, and drew up the sections embracing the bill of rights in both conventions. To break a dead-lock which existed for a time between a whig governor and a democratic legislative council, he accepted the office of prosecuting attorney of his district, to which he was nominated and confirmed, after numerous appointees had been rejected. After Iowa was admitted as a state, he was elected on April 5th, 1847, a judge for the district in which he resided, made up, at that time, of sixteen counties. At the end of a five years term on the bench, he declined a re-election and, with the exception of a term in the state legislature—when he served as speaker of the House of Representatives—he eschewed office holding thereafter, although he always interested himself in promoting the fortunes of the democratic party, with which he affiliated.

In the early years of the decade beginning with 1850, what may be termed the golden era of Judge Grant's professional career, began. It was a golden era in more senses than one. Golden in the fame which it brought him, and in the emoluments which came with it. In 1851, with characteristic energy and enterprise, he interested himself in the promotion of the Rock Island railway project, becoming first president of the corporation, and making the contract for the building of the road. Thus interested in corporation affairs. he became essentially a corporation lawyer, and his practice was vastly remunerative. Apparently, he grasped intuitively the full scope and bearing of certain questions of great importance

Digitized by Google

to the railway corporations, when the courts and members of the bar generally were groping in the dark, in the absence of precedents to guide them. What an eminent Iowa jurist called a "practical sagacity so marked as justly to entitle it to the name of genius," enabled him to conduct to a successful issue litigation involving many millions of dollars of the securities of these corporations, and from a single lawsuit his firm is said to have realized, in those days of comparatively small fees, a fee of more than one hundred thousand dollars. For many years his professional income, although living in a new state and small city, is said to have been as large as that of any lawyer of that period in the United States. In the famous litigation known as the "Railroad Aid Bond Cases," he was especially conspicuous; and so certain was he that a decision must eventually result in his favor, that he profited largely by investments in these depreciated securities, at a time when courts and juries were holding against him, and when the most powerful efforts were being made to have them declared invalid. With the increase of his fortune came a corresponding increase of his activities in developing the resources, not only of Davenport and the State of Iowa, but of other portions of the west. The famous Grant Smelting Works, originally of Leadville, now of Denver, Colorado, were built up by him, in connection with his nephew, Governor Grant, of that state, and the vivifying effect of his enterprise were felt throughout a wide extent of territory.

While absorbed to a large extent in professional work and conduct of the important affairs with which he was identified, a kindly nature and generous instincts were manifested in numerous ways. Young men found in him a wise counsellor, a sympathetic friend, and one who was always ready to give them material assistance. Although he was three times married, and had two children, neither of them survived the infantile period. Married first, in 1839, to Sarah E. Hubbard, born in Massachusetts of Puritan lineage, his wife died in 1842. In 1844, he married Ada C. Hubbard, a native of Vermont, who died two years later. In 1848, he married Elizabeth Brown Leonard, who was born in Connecticut, and came with her parents to Iowa, in 1838. Her father was James Leonard, a pioneer legislator of Iowa, who died in Iowa city, in 1845, while attending a session of the General Assembly. Having no children of their own, Judge and Mrs. Grant opened their home and their hearts to the children of relatives and friends, and in all a family

Digitized by Google

of eighteen boys and girls grew up under their care, receiving education and a start in life at their hands.

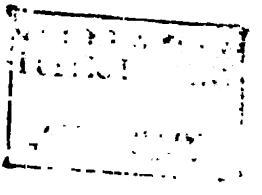
For many years this was a unique homestead, a hospitable home of the old fashioned kind. The silver wedding anniversary of this distinguished couple, in 1873, was an event of unusual, in fact, of historic interest, inasmuch as it brought together a famous company of guests, who came from widely separated localities. There were college classmates from southern states, old time jurists and lawyers from all portions of the west, and congratulatory letters and telegrams from everywhere.

For the important influence which he exerted in elevating the character of his profession, and contributing to the enlightenment and education of its members, in Davenport and the State of Iowa, Judge Grant will always be held in grateful remembrance. Early in life he began the building up of a law library, which soon assumed large proportions. Twenty years since, it is said to have been the largest private law library in the west, if not the largest in the United States. The privilege of using this library he extended, free of charge, not only to the lawyers of Davenport, but to the lawyers of the state, and many now famous western lawyers derived incalculable benefit therefrom. While holding two sessions a year at Davenport—which the legislature had stipulated should be without expense to the state—the Supreme Court of Iowa for years had the free use of this library, and the free use, also, of a room in connection with it, which Judge Grant fitted up for the sessions of the court. It is to the credit of the bar of Davenport that this great collection of law books has been preserved to the city, since Judge Grant's death, through the organized effort of members of the profession, and that the "James Grant Law Library" will constitute a constantly expanding monument to its founder.

As a judge on the bench he was noted for his prompt dispatch of public business, and the broad common sense and equity of his decisions. As a practitioner, zeal, courage, resourcefulness, and a felicitous power of expression, were his distinguishing characteristics. A man of strong and tender emotions, "When the subject was such as to enlist his feelings," says an old member of the Iowa bar, "he was truly eloquent in the highest sense of that expression."

A fine classical scholar, he never lost interest in, or love for the classics, and turned to them, even in his later years, for diversion from business and other affairs. A southern man by birth and

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

C. C. Parry M. D.

Digitized by Google

education, he was an exception among the products of that region, as a many-sided man. With southern warmth and impulsiveness, he combined northern thrift and sagacity. With southern generosity, he combined northern conservativeness. With many of the tastes of the typical southron, he had so few of the mannerisms of that region, that those who knew nothing of his history, would more frequently have guessed him a native of New England than of North Carolina. In one thing, however, all agree that the distinguished lawyer and financier was a typical southron, and that was in his love for fine and fast horses. From his early manhood, he was much interested in the breeding and speeding of this class of horses, and for years was President of the National Trotting Association.

For some years, prior to his death, he spent much of his time in California, and there as in Davenport, he busied himself with developing the material resources of the country, and identified himself with its business interests, to an extent which made him as well known on the Pacific coast, as he had been some years earlier in the Rocky Mountain region.

EMINENT AMERICAN BOTANISTS.

DR. CHARLES C. PARRY.

In the early hours of February 20th, 1890, there passed away at his home in Davenport, Iowa, a man who had devoted nearly fifty years of his life to enriching the botanical lore of the western states and territories, and who had become recognized, both in this country and abroad, as among the distinctively great American botanists of the age. A profound student, a tireless investigator, an active and energetic explorer, he was withal a gentle, kindly, lovable man, who lived among the flowers and seemed to share their charms and graces. "Flowers," said this eminent botanist, "have a language of their own, but a few persons only can interpret it." With this language of the flowers he was himself so thoroughly familiar that every bud and blossom seemed to whisper to him a story all its own, and these stories, in many instances, he was the first to place upon the written pages of science. A biographer of plants; a chronicler of their histories; nature's own historian. How broad

NOTE.—See account of Dr. Parry's Botanical Collection, Oct. 28, 1878, Vol. II., Proceedings Davenport Acad. Nat. Sciences.

Digitized by Google

the field in which he labored; how enduring the results of his labors; how great the sum of his achievements; how numerous the monuments to his memory. To sketch the life of such a man, to do full justice not only to his accomplishments, but to those qualities of head and heart which endeared him most to those who knew him best, is a work which could best have been performed by one of those poetic souls who wrought with him within the same domain, who breathed an atmosphere the same and traversed paths familiar to his feet. And yet, from the ample material which his life evolved, a novitiate biographer could hardly fail to weave an attractive story of the career of Dr. Charles Christopher Parry.

He was born at Admington, Worcestershire, England, August 28th, 1823, and came with his parents to this country in 1832. The family settled on a farm in Washington County, New York, and his early life was spent in the midst of rural environments. Here he received his early education and was fitted for Union College, at Schenectady, New York, from which institution he graduated with honors, having distinguished himself especially as a student of the natural sciences. Like Gray, Engelmann and Torrey, whose fame as American botanists is also world wide, he took up the study of medicine, graduated from Columbia Medical College, and for a time he may be said to have actively practiced this profession. As early as 1842, however, he had begun his botanical researches in northeastern New York,—a region rich in material for work of this character—and soon became fascinated with the science of botany. While studying medicine he gave as much of his time as he could spare to botanical work, and becoming acquainted with the celebrated botanist, Dr. John Torrey, he received from that distinguished scientist aid and encouragement which increased his enthusiasm and caused him to apply himself with renewed energy to research and investigation in this attractive field.

In 1846, having completed his course of study in medicine he came to Davenport, Iowa, and began to practice. After a few months, however, the allurements of the fields, the prairie, and the bluffs along the Mississippi River, proved too strong to be resisted, and Dr. Parry found himself actively engaged in collecting the flora of the country about Davenport. Then he made an expedition to the central part of Iowa with a government surveying party, under command of Lieutenant J. Morehead, and gave up the prac-

Digitized by Google

tice of medicine to devote himself entirely to scientific study, research, investigation and exploration.

In 1848 he became connected, in a semi-official capacity, with Dr. David Dale Owen, who had been employed by the national government to make a geological survey of Wisconsin and Minnesota territories, and made extensive collections in the northwest, along the St. Croix and St. Peters rivers, and in the region of Lake Superior. In 1849, he was appointed botanist to the Mexican boundary survey, proceeding by way of the Isthmus of Panama to San Diego, California, where he arrived in July of that year. The following September he joined an astronomical party and crossed the California desert, going from San Diego to the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers and returning in December. In 1850, he traversed the shore line of the Pacific as far north as Monterey and made extensive collections in the vicinity of the southern boundary line of California. The next year he was ordered to Washington to make up a report of his explorations and discoveries, but before concluding it was summoned to join the government surveying party at El Paso, on the Rio Grande. To reach this point he made an overland trip by way of San Antonio, Texas, late in the fall of 1851. In January of 1852, he accompanied a small party on an exploring expedition through the region west of El Paso. The trip extended to the Pima Indian settlements on the Gila river, and the party did not return to El Paso until April. He was subsequently attached to various surveying parties on the Rio Grande south of El Paso, including a section of the river below the Presidio del Norte, noted for its giant chasms, which, it is said had never before and have never since been explored by any botanist. His explorations in the Mexican boundary region, in California, Texas, and what is now Arizona, extended over a period of four years and were rich in botanical discoveries of the most interesting character. In the winter of 1852-53, he returned to Washington and prepared his report, which was published in the volumes giving an official account of the Mexican boundary survey.

From 1854 to 1860, he spent most of his time in Davenport, being but little engaged in field work during this period, but in 1861 he made a trip to the Rocky Mountain region, returning with a rare collection of alpine plants. Some of these had first been brought to notice by Dr. Edwin James, when he visited this region as botanist of the expedition conducted by Major Samuel H. Long, in 1820,

Digitized by Google

and others, were new to science. The following year he was associated with E. Hall and J. P. Harbour in further explorations of this wonderfully interesting region, and the botanical results of these researches were published in the proceedings of the Philadelphia Academy of Sciences. In 1864, he continued his explorations in the vicinity of Longs Peak and Middle Park, Colorado, and in 1867, he accompanied a surveying party across the continent on the line of the 35th parallel north latitude, in the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. On the last mentioned of these expeditions he made collections in Western Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and California, and a list of the plants comprised in these collections was subsequently published in a work prepared for the press, by Dr. W. A. Bell, entitled "New Tracts in North America."

In 1869, Dr. Parry was appointed botanist of the United States Department of Agriculture, at Washington, and assigned to the important work of arranging the extensive collections of plants which had accumulated at the Smithsonian Institution as a result of various government explorations. He also visited San Domingo, as botanist to an expedition sent out by the government, when the annexation of that island to the United States was under consideration during President Grant's administration. In 1871, he retired from his official position, and the summer of 1872 found him again in the Rocky Mountains, accompanied this time by J. Duncan Putnam, the talented young entomologist, also of Davenport. In 1874, he was attached to an exploring party under command of Captain W. A. Jones, which traversed northwestern Wyoming and the Wind river district to Yellowstone National Park. In 1875, he penetrated the wilds of Utah and secured a unique and valuable collection of flora from the desert district in the valley of the Virgen, near St. George, spending the summer of that year in central Utah, in the vicinity of Mt. Nebo, and continuing his trip to California in the fall of that year.

The following year, in company with Professor J. G. Lemmon, a noted California botanist, he explored the high mountain district in the neighborhood of San Bernardino and the desert stretches lying east of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and made a valuable collection of the plants of that region. Portions of Mexico, Texas and California were included in the field of his subsequent researches, which were always prosecuted with vigor and with a clearly defined

Digitized by Google

purpose in view. In company with Professor C. S. Sargent, of Cambridge, and Dr. George Engelmann, of St. Louis, he collected valuable forestry statistics of the Pacific coast region for the United States census of 1880.

Even in the later years of his life he was active in the field of exploration and his interest in the science to which he had given the best years of his life never flagged. With the ardor of an enthusiast and the conscientiousness of one who has consecrated his life to the work in hand, he labored for the advancement of science and the broadening of human knowledge. To make new discoveries in his chosen field of investigation was the chief delight of his life, and beyond securing to the world the benefits of these discoveries through published records, he had no ambition to appear as publisher or author. The results of his researches were made known through American and foreign journals and published reports, and through these channels he was a voluminous contributor to scientific literature, but he never embodied his observations and discoveries in books of his own making.

To the literature of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, he contributed many valuable papers, among them being admirably written biographical sketches of Dr. Torrey, Dr. Engelmann, J. Duncan Putnam, and other scientists. His extensive explorations and exchanges with other collectors enabled him to accumulate a vast collection of botanic specimens, with many of which he enriched the herbaria of both Europe and America, and his private collection is probably the finest to be found in any of the western states. This splendid collection, now in the possession of Mrs. Parry, who survives her husband, is likely to find its way ultimately into a western college, to become a perpetual educator of American youth and a monument to the indefatigable labors of the famous collector.

While he contributed vastly to the development of the science of botany in general and rendered important service to horticulture as well, especially conspicuous was his identification with west American botany. He discovered hundreds of new plants, afterwards described by Dr. Gray and Dr. Engelmann, and many beautiful and useful plants bear his name and will ever keep his memory green.

With the scientists of the United States and Europe the relations of Dr. Parry were for many years of the most intimate and friendly character. The renowned Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, director

Digitized by Google

of the famous Kew Gardens, at London, was among those who extended to him cordial greetings on the occasion of his frequent visits to England, and to him the Gardens were indebted for many valuable contributions. Engelmann, Gray and Torrey were among his life long friends, and by all these distinguished scientists he was recognized as an authority in all matters pertaining to the flora of what has been termed alpine America. In the course of his explorations in this region, Dr. Parry gave to one of the prominent peaks of the famous snowy range of Colorado the name of Gray's Peak. Another one he named Torrey's Peak, another Mt. Guyot, and still another is now known as Mt. Parry. Notable monuments to noted men.

As a citizen of Davenport, Dr. Parry was always greatly beloved. Although his labors kept him away from there much of the time, this city he regarded as his home, from the time of his settlement there, among the pioneers, in 1846. It was here that he was married, in 1853, to Miss Sarah M. Dalzell, who died five years later, and it was here also that his only child, a daughter, was born and died.

Married again, in 1859, to Emily R. Preston (née Richmond), it is here also that the cultivated and intelligent lady, who shared to a large extent his travels and labors in later years, still resides. Of the Academy of Sciences, which has contributed in no small degree to the fame of Davenport, he was one of the founders and chief promoters. A charter member of the Academy, he became its second president and retained the office seven years, contributing in many ways to the growth and development of the institution. An ideal man in his social and domestic relations, courteous, gentle, kind and sympathetic, if

> "To live in hearts we leave behind
> Is not to die,"

Dr. Parry still lives, because few men have ever succeeded in gathering around them a circle of more devoted friends.

Digitized by Google

THE BEHRING SEA ARBITRATION.

By the decision of the Jury of Arbitrators, at Paris, in July, 1893, a vexed question between the United States and Great Britain, which for nearly ten years past had been almost constantly under discussion and a source of endless diplomatic correspondence, was finally set at rest. In giving here a brief outline of the merits of this question, resort is had to generous extracts from an article on "The Behring Sea Controversy," by the Hon. Edward J. Phelps, in "Harper's Magazine," for April, 1891. Mr. Phelps is probably the best informed man on this subject in the United States. He conducted the correspondence in the original controversy while Minister to England, and by appointment by President Harrison, as leading counsel for the United States, he conducted the recent case before the Paris tribunal. His article in "Harper's" was written after the close of his term as minister to Great Britain, and before the Arbitration was decided upon. He cannot therefore be said to speak as a prejudiced partisan. In his article, Mr. Phelps said:

"The Alaskan fur-seal fishery is the most important in the world. It was a material element in value of that province when purchased by the United States from Russia, at a heavy cost, and one of the principal inducements upon which the purchase was made. * * * * Since Alaska became the property of the United States this fishery has afforded a very considerable revenue to the government, by the lease of its privilege. * * * *

"The seal is amphibious. It is not a denizen of the sea alone, still less 'a wanderer of the sea,' but requires both land and water for its existence, and especially for its propagation. It has a fixed habitation on the Alaskan shore, from which it never long departs, and to which it constantly returns. It belongs therefore to the territory on which it makes its home, and where it breeds, and gives rise to a business and a revenue, as much entitled to the protection of the government as the larger commerce of the port of New York. It is the habit of this colony of seals to cross through the sea during breeding time, to the Pribyloff Islands, which form a part of Alaska, where their young are produced and reared.

Digitized by Google

"In making the passage, the seals necessarily cross a portion of the Behring Sea, which is more than three miles outside of either shore, and is therefore beyond the line usually regarded as the limit of national jurisdiction on the borders of the ocean. It has been the custom for several years past for certain Canadian vessels, fitted out for the purpose, to intercept the seals on this passage, while outside of the three-mile line, and to shoot them in the water. Many of the animals thus destroyed sink and are lost. Those that are saved are considerably diminished in value by their condition. Still, there is a certain profit in the business, inhuman and wasteful as it is. But the necessary result of it, if continued, will be the extermination of the seals in Alaska within a very short time, the destruction of the interests and industries dependent upon them, and in a large measure the withdrawal of the fur-seal skin from commerce and from use. The certainty of this result is proved by what has already taken place."

The reference in this last sentence is to the statistics of the Alaskan fisheries, as transmitted to the British government in 1891, by the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine. Secretary Blaine's statement was as follows: "From 1870 to 1890, the seal fisheries, carefully guarded and preserved, yielded 100,000 skins each year. The Canadian intrusions began in 1886, and so great has been the damage resulting from their destruction of seal life in the open sea surrounding. the Pribyloff Islands, that in 1890 the government of the United States limited the Alaska Company to 60,000 skins, but the Company was able to secure only 21,000 seals."

As stated above, the Canadian depredations began in 1886, during the first Cleveland administration. As soon as the facts became known, the United States government, through its minister in London, Mr. Phelps, presented the case for the consideration of the British government. Lord Salisbury, as foreign minister of Great Britain, had the case in charge. Mr. Phelps, for the United States, proposed a convention of representatives of the three powers, Great Britain, the United States and Russia, to prepare regulations limiting the season during which seal fishing could be prosecuted, and prohibiting it during the breeding season.

The proposition of a convention for this purpose was acquiesced in by the British government, and Mr. Phelps was requested by Lord Salisbury to draft such regulations as seemed to be required. This Mr. Phelps did. His draft of regulations was submitted, and no

Digitized by Google

question raised concerning anything it contained. Acting in good faith upon the strength of the promised concurrence, the Russian government was appealed to, and consented to act as a third party in the convention. But at this point Canada, whose interests were more nearly affected than those of England, objected to the entire proposition. As a result, the acquiescence of Great Britain was tacitly withdrawn, and the negotiation fell through. This part of the story is fully set forth in the published dispatches of Mr. Phelps as minister to England.

Let it be noted that the original contention of the American government, as illustrated in Mr. Phelps' proposition for a convention, only looked to a practical and amicable enforcement of such regulations as were necessary for the preservation of the seals. The question of vested rights and the intricacies of international law had not yet complicated the case. But when Great Britain manifested an unwillingness to co-operate in the matter, the American government had no resource but to press these other considerations, and emphasize the question as one of rights on her part.

But while Mr. Phelps presented this view in 1891, and urged a similar view before the Paris commissioners, it will be noticed that he did not claim for the United States the right of a closed sea in the Behring waters *per se*. He merely urged that a practical closing of the waters frequented by the seals, for this single purpose of their preservation, was not only perfectly justifiable, but an imperative duty of the United States. He was not so much contending for an abstract legal principle defining the freedom of the sea, as for the practical right of a nation to protect one of its important industries from its threatened annihilation by the technical insistance of marauders upon the doctrine of the three-mile limit.

It should be said, further, that Mr. Phelps has carefully demonstrated that regulation of the sealing fishery by the United States government would not by any means be a novel practice among nations, but a very common one. Great Britain has long enforced regulations outside the three mile limit for her coral and pearl fisheries in the Indian Ocean. Norway protects her whaling industry outside this limit. Russia protects her seal fisheries of the Commander Islands, and in pursuance of this policy has seized with impunity both American and Canadian marauders in the open sea. Great Britain has entered into a convention with Norway and agreed upon regulations fixing a closed season for the seal fisheries of the

Digitized by Google

latter country. The edict of Great Britain during the confinement of Napoleon on St. Helena was a notorious violation of the three-mile doctrine to meet a special emergency. She prohibited the vessels of all nations from trading with St. Helena, and made it criminal for any vessel to be found "hovering" within eight leagues (eight times the three-mile limit) of the shore. Such examples could be multiplied, together with others, showing that industries which enjoy the full liberty of the open sea at one time, at another time, when nations for any reason see fit to condemn them, forfeit this right and find the high sea a closed sea so far as they are concerned. A notable example of this kind was the slave-trade. The sea which was open for its prosecution within the memory of man, is now rigorously closed to it by the edict of civilized nations.

But doubtless enough has been said for a true interpretation of the significance of the decision of the Paris arbitrators rendered in July last. Because the extreme claims of the American representatives were not allowed, it has been frequently asserted that the decision, was a doubtful victory for the United States. But surely such is not the case. The contention of Mr. Blaine, which was an after-development of the controversy, that the Behring waters were a closed sea in all respects with a right of exclusive jurisdiction vested in the United States as against Great Britain at least, if not all other nations, was disallowed. But the original representations of the American government as promulgated during the first Cleveland administration, and as embodied in the draft of regulations drawn up by Minister Phelps at the suggestion of Lord Salisbury, have been practically re-affirmed and put into execution by the Paris decision which provides the necessary protection measures during the breeding season of the seals.

The right of the American government to close up Behring sea to the extent of enforcing necessary protective measures to preserve the sealing industry, has been practically affirmed, beyond a peradventure. The original convention proposed by Minister Phelps, and the views of citizen Phelps, as set forth in a magazine article, have been cited sufficiently to show that the real contention as set forth at the outset, and maintained at every point, has been preserved in a decided triumph for the principles insisted upon for the American government. Nothing more could be desired. Mr. Blaine's later contention served its purpose in forcing an issue of the controversy upon Great Britain, and bringing the

Digitized by Google

entire matter to a head in the agreement to submit to the arbitration which has recently closed its labors. And having secured the practical end for which we inaugurated the agitation, doubtless the United States will hereafter benefit as much as any other nation by the principle negatively affirmed,—that no nation can arbitrarily designate a part of the ocean as a closed sea beyond the three-mile limit, to apply promiscuously, although necessary regulations may be insisted upon in such cases to guard special vested interests.

HON. EDWARD J. PHELPS,

LEADING COUNSEL FOR THE UNITED STATES.

The Hon. Edward J. Phelps has been identified for a longer time and more intimately, with the Behring Sea controversy, than any other person. Not merely was he the leading counsel for the United States for the Arbitration Commission, which closed its long session at Paris, in July, 1893, but he was also resident minister to England, during President Cleveland's first term, when the question originally came up and when all the correspondence passed through his hands. A brief review of the merits of the controversy, with the view of it presented by Mr. Phelps. has been given in the preceding pages. It is designed now to add an outline sketch of Mr. Phelps' life.

Born in Middlebury, Vermont, in 1822, the Hon. Edward J. Phelps comes of a sturdy Puritan stock which has had many representatives prominent in public affairs. His own father, Judge Samuel S. Phelps, was one of the most distinguished of these. Ranking among the most eminent lawyers Vermont has ever known, Judge Phelps served as justice of the Supreme Court of that state from 1833 to 1838, and in the latter year was elected to the United States Senate, where he remained for thirteen years.

Edward J. Phelps received his early education in his native town, at Middlebury College. Later he graduated from the law department of Yale University. He was admitted to the bar of Vermont, and at once began practicing law at Burlington, where his home has been ever since. He continued in the regular practice of his profession for many years, except when interrupted by calls into the public service. His eminent abilities placed him in charge of cases

Digitized by Google

of the greatest importance in every section of his native state, and indeed extending beyond its limits.

The first interruption of his law practice occurred in 1851, when President Fillmore invited him to accept the office of Second Comptroller of the United States Treasury. Mr. Phelps, then twenty-nine years of age, accepted the trust and held it until the accession of President Pierce, in 1853, when he resigned. President Pierce requested him to retain the office, but Mr. Phelps' desire to resume his professional duties led him to insist upon the acceptance of his resignation.

Again, in 1870, Mr. Phelps was called into service by Vermont as one of the representatives in her constitutional convention. Here his abilities as a legal authority were of the greatest importance. He was influential in a considerable degree in shaping the organic instrument, then reviewed and amended, for his native state. In 1880, Mr. Phelps was elected President of the American Bar Association, the office of highest honor in the gift of the legal fraternity of the United States.

During the year, 1881, the Kent Professorship of Law in Yale University was offered to Mr. Phelps, and accepted by him. Thereupon he withdrew from the general practice of law, with the exception only of occasional service as counsel in cases of great magnitude and importance. Since assuming his duties as professor at Yale, Mr. Phelps has maintained a residence at New Haven, Connecticut, for five months of eaeh year, from January to June. In the University, he has each year delivered a course of lectures to the undergraduates of the senior class, as well as a regular course to the students of the law department.

Mr. Phelps's duties at this University have been interrupted by his residence of four years in London, as Minister of the United States to Great Britain. To this office he was nominated by President Cleveland, in March, 1885, retaining it until his resignation upon the accession of President Harrison in 1889.

Mr. Phelps' conduct of the Behring Sea negotiations during the first Cleveland regime, were not the only important diplomatic services which he rendered as American Minister to England. He also negotiated and executed with the British government an important extradition treaty. This treaty was pending in the United States Senate at the close of the Cleveland administration, but was adopted in its substantial features by the succeeding administration as the basis of a treaty soon after executed and ratified.

Digitized by Google

Other important questions which came up during his service were the Canadian Fisheries Question, the adjustment of the boundary between Alaska and British Columbia, and the affair of Lord Sackville West, British Minister at Washington. Mr. Phelps conducted the correspondence which resulted in the dismissal of this indiscreet official.

His original service in the controversy relative to the preservation of the seals of Behring Sea, which he adjusted by an agreement with Lord Salisbury, the British foreign minister, but which failed to be carried out in consequence of the opposition of Canada, has been already described. It is a curious fact that the same terms, practically, as were agreed upon with Lord Salisbury, were ratified by the decision of the recent Paris tribunal, while claims of a more arbitrary nature, advanced later on by the United States, were disallowed. In view of his former connection with this controversy, and his standing as one of the ablest authorities in the United States on international law, it is not a matter of surprise that Mr. Phelps should have been retained by President Harrison, in 1892, as leading counsel for the United States in the Behring Sea Arbitration. Mr. Phelps conducted the case throughout before the tribunal of arbitrators, while the closing address by himself, requiring many days in its delivery, was one of the most masterly efforts of its kind in the history of arbitration between nations.

Mr. Phelps has received the degree of LL.D., from Harvard University, the University of Vermont and Middlebury College. He was married to the daughter of Hon. Stephen Haight, of Vermont, formerly Sergeant-at-arms in the United States Senate. Of their four children, two survive.

A. S. CAMERON.

Digitized by Google

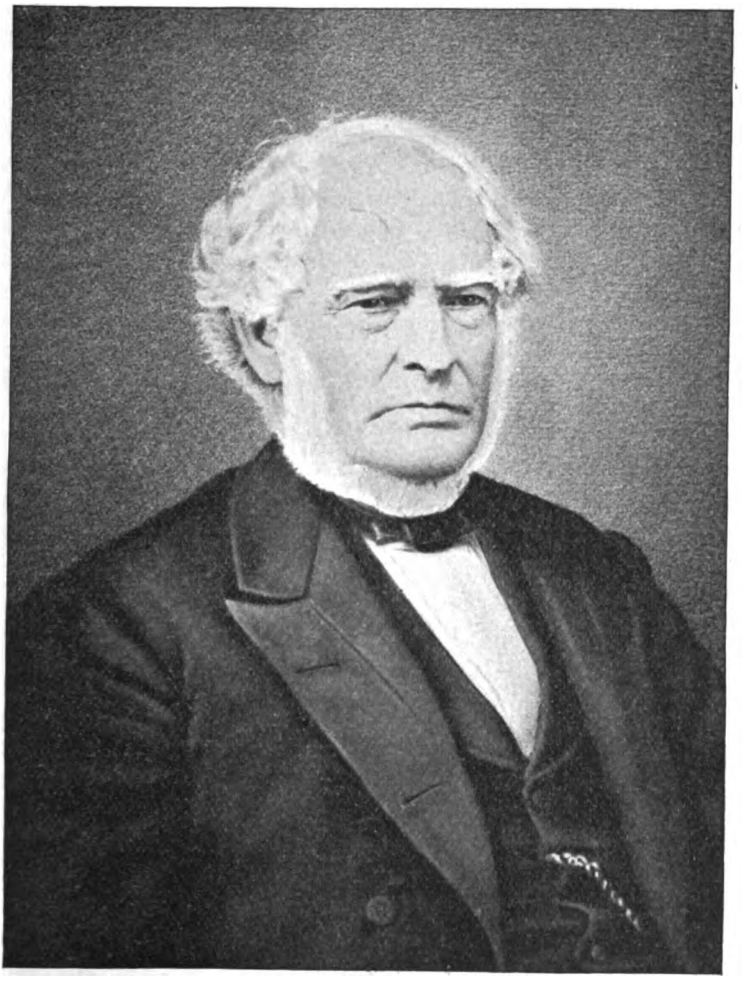
NEWARK, N. J., INCORPORATED.

SOME OF ITS PUBLIC MEN.

As stated in a former article, the town of Newark was originally a church which, having first taken root in Branford, Conn., had been transplanted to the banks of the Passaic in New Jersey. Here the authority and influence of its church element was, more or less, felt until the beginning of the present century; and even as late as 1833 the Town Meeting was held in the Session Room of the First Presbyterian Church. In that very room was held the meeting at which the town was first divided into its original four wards; and at which, also, it was "Resolved that the Sexton have three dollars paid by the Town Committee for cleaning the Lecture room of said church out of any monies belonging to the Town," etc., a somewhat ambiguous phrase, but not intended to reflect upon the Sexton's honesty.

Five years prior to this event, in 1828, an effort had been made to incorporate the town, but this failed, and the awkward system of managing the affairs of a rapidly growing community through Town meetings which could not properly represent it, was becoming quite insufferable. The erection of wards was a relief, but the swarms of Town officers were simply a nuisance and a cause of continual vexations. The Town had now a population of over 19,000, and among its active citizens were the Hornblowers, the Frelinghuysens, the Boudinots, the Whiteheads, the Condits, the Penningtons, the Dods, the Halseys, the Baldwins, the Jacksons, the Congars, the Kinneys, the Hayes, the Allings, the Wards, the Nichols, and scores of others whose names have always been, and still are, prominent among Newark leaders. Eloquence and influences of various kinds finally prevailed, and in April, 1836, a charter was obtained making Newark a city. Its acceptance by the people was signalized by the roar of cannons, the lighting of bonfires, and a general jubilation. On the 11th of the same month, was held the first Charter Election which resulted in the choice of William Halsey as Mayor. At the same time four aldermen were elected from each of the four wards: from the North Ward, Abraham W. Kinney, William Lee, Isaac Meeker, John H. Stephens; South Ward, Isaac Baldwin, Thomas B. Pierson, Aaron Camp, Henry L. Parkhurst; East Ward, William Garthwaite,

Digitized by Google



MOSES BIGELOW.

269029

Digitized by Google

Joel W. Condit, James Beardsley, James Miller; West Ward, Enoch Bolles, William Rankin, Abner P. Howell, James Keen. Several of these became Mayors of Newark, or occupied other prominent positions. Having, as yet, no City Hall, their first meeting was held in St. John's Lodge room, in the uppermost story of the Newark Academy, which then occupied the spot, upon which the Post Office is now in course of erection. On that occasion the city government was first organized, and suitable persons ware elected to fill the offices of Recorder, Clerk, Treasurer, Surveyor and Street Commissioner. Among these, as among the aldermen, were men who subsequently arrived at distinction, and of whom we shall speak in future articles.

MOSES BIGELOW.

The Bigelow family is of English origin, and the name, from the 13th century to the 17th, was variously spelled Beagely, Baguley, Begaloo, Biggilo, Biglo, etc. The first who found a home in America, and who may be regarded as the earliest American ancestor of that family, was John Bigelow, of whom mention is made in the Watertown (Mass.) Town Records, where his marriage is recorded as the first that occurred in that settlement as follows: "1642-30-8, John Bigulah and Mary Warin joyned in mariage before Mr. Newell." These, in a direct line, are the American progenitors of the subject of our sketch, who was of the sixth generation. His father, Timothy Bigelow, removed in early life from Hanover, N. J., where he was born, to Lyons Farms, N. J., where, when a mere boy, he enlisted in the Continental Army and served until the close of the war. Not long afterwards, he married Hannah Ogden Meeker by whom he had eight children, of whom, Moses was the fourth, being also the eldest son. Timothy Bigelow is described as a "Fine looking gentleman of the old school, and was highly respected by all who knew him, a man of sterling worth and undoubted integrity." And all of this may be truly said of his son, concerning whom we now write.

Moses Bigelow was born January 12, 1800, at Lyons Farms, an old agricultural settlement bordering upon the city of Newark, N. J. Here he passed his boyish days, and here acquired the first rudiments of learning in the "Old Stone School House," with which are connected so many stories of varied interest, and which a hundred

Digitized by Google

years have failed to topple down. After acquiring all that could be offered to him here, he was sent to a school of higher grade in Elizabethtown, a few miles distant, where he obtained an education which was deemed sufficient for almost any walk in life. His early purpose was to be a farmer, as was his father, but his love for books and study eventually diverted him from this intention, and he entered, as a student-at-law, the office of Governor William S. Pennington, at that time a judge of the United States District Court for New Jersey. Here he acquired a knowledge of the law which, although he never became a practitioner, was of great value to him in after life. That he never entered the profession was, doubtless, due to the fact that in those days the law afforded a very uncertain maintenance, and the task of building up a practice sufficient for that purpose was not suited to his active and progressive disposition. Possessed of the necessary means, he desired to take a part at once in some of the occupations of life, and a favorable opportunity having been presented to him, he determined, on reaching his majority in 1821, to invest his capital in the manufacture of boots and shoes for the southern and western markets. In this enterprise he was very successful until 1829, when all his plans were defeated by the death of his brother who was associated with him in business.

Having disposed of all his interest in this enterprise, he formed a copartnership in 1831, with Mr. Pruden Alling, in the wholesale grocery business, an important branch of which was, in those days, the sale of imported and domestic liquors. It was a profitable business, and regarded as perfectly legitimate until 1835, when the "Temperance Reform" reached its height, and the vending of all sorts of spirituous liquors was denounced as a sin in the sight of God, and little less than the murder of human beings. This was startling to the Corys, the Stephens, the Condits and others of Newark's stanchest and most respected citizens, but they bore the anathemas of the reformers with becoming grace, and listened complacently to their appeals. Mr. Bigelow received them in the generous spirit so natural to him, and when urged by them, in the name of humanity, to empty his casks of wine and brandy into the gutters, his reply was: "Gentlemen, I appreciate the importance of the work in which you are engaged, and I am perfectly willing to bear my share, and even more than my share, of the expense which must, of course, legitimately attend it. I have prepared a careful inventory of all the liquors in my establishment, with the cost value of the

Digitized by Google

same, and if you will refund to me one-half of what I paid for them, you may dispose of them as you please." It is possible that some persons may find it difficult to believe that this generous offer was refused. It was made, however, with the utmost sincerity, as Mr. Bigelow proved soon afterwards by abandoning the business in which he had been profitably engaged. His active spirit would not suffer him to remain long unemployed, and for this reason, rather than for the sake of accumulating wealth, we find him ere long busy in organizing a company for the manufacture of clothing for the southern and western markets, in which he had made himself so favorably known. This was just at the commencement of those years of financial disaster so grievous not only to the city of Newark, but to the entire country. The riches that had intoxicated their possessors in 1836, were destined to evanesce in 1837, and the great clothing establishment belonging to the firm of Bigelow, Canfield & Ingraham, like thousands of the wealthiest concerns in the land, was left struggling for existence. The coming of the great financial hurricane was forseen by Mr. Bigelow during the long tramp which, while the storm was gathering, he made on horseback through the southern States to the very border of Texas. But it was seen too late, and could not have been withstood, had it been seen earlier. He went down before it like all his friends and neighbors. The government, with its Bankrupt law of 1842, came to his rescue, but he spurned the proffered aid, and thereby won for himself a degree of respect and confidence which crowned his subsequent struggle for freedom from overwhelming debts, not only with liberty, but with growing wealth.

Long, weary years went by ere the business skies became once more clear, but they seemed sufficiently propitious in 1848, to tempt Mr. Bigelow to seek the tide that leads to fortune. In that year he entered quietly into the business of manufacturing varnish, wherein his keen perceptions discovered safety, as well as profit. The establishment which he then founded became for him the source of a generous income throughout the remainder of his life, and still bears his name.

It was not surprising that a man so sagacious, so brave, and so honest should, sooner or later, be marked by his fellow citizens as one admirably fitted to serve them in some important public position. His modesty and self-respect would not permit him to seek office, and it is doubtful if he ever dreamed of political preferment,

Digitized by Google

although he took a heartfelt interest in the success of the Democratic party which represented, in his judgment, principles by which the country should be governed. The time came, however, when he must share with others the responsibility of caring for the public interest. In 1857 he was called to the office of Mayor, and was yearly elected to that position until 1864. It was during his administration that the bloody conffict between the northern and southern States broke out, and it is worthy of note that in the south his business interests had been, and still were the most important. To the south he was mainly indebted for his wealth, and in the south were many of his warmest personal friends. In view of all this he, nevertheless, boldly announced his determination to support the federal Constitution, and on referring to this instrument in his Annual Message of 1862, he said "Whoever assails its authority by word or deed is an enemy of the Union of the States and the peace and the happiness of the Country." Throughout all the war of the Rebellion, his voice and arm were ever uplifted in the behalf of the Union, and he was always among the foremost to prosecute it to a successful termination.

As Mayor, Mr. Bigelow exhibited a rare judgment, and interest in the public welfare which was felt in every department of the city government. In the performance of his official duties he was always actuated by a determination to do what was right and in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. His integrity and efficiency as Mayor, brought forward his name more than once for highly responsible positions, and on one occasion the opportunity was afforded him to become a candidate for gubernatorial honors; but after closing his career as Mayor he declined every public office that was tendered to him. As early as 1835 he showed his capacity as a manager of business enterprises of a private character. In that year he was among the foremost in organizing the Morris & Essex Railroad Company. In the formation of the Mechanics' Fire Insurance, and of the Howard Savings Institution he was very active, being an incorporator, and for many years a director in both. The Citizens' Gas Light Co. enjoyed, in its infancy, his fostering care. He was the first President of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and served many years as a trustee of the State Lunatic Asylum. Benevolent institutions on every hand sought the benefits of his counsels, and were the recipients of his bounty.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Bigelow married, February 4, 1836, Julia Ann Breckinridge Fowler, daughter of Dr. Samuel Fowler, the learned mineralogist, by whom he had six children, three only of whom are now living. His death occurred in Newark, N. J., June 3, 1878.

THOMAS B. PEDDIE.

On the principal thoroughfare of the city of Newark, N. J., nearly facing one of its beautiful public parks, stands a house of worship, built of gray granite, in Byzantine style of architecture, and capable of seating three thousand worshipers. It is called the "Peddie Memorial," and was the gift of the subject of this sketch to the congregation with which he connected himself when, as a youth, he came to Newark, and with which he continued to worship throughout his long and useful life.

Thomas B. Peddie was a Scotchman by birth, and Edinburgh was his native city. Here, too, were born his parents, people in moderate circumstances, intelligent, industrious and intensely religious. Guided by their example and early teaching, he acquired habits of industry and self-reliance, as well as reverence for every thing that is essential to an honorable and pious life. It is true that his mental acquirements were only such as are obtained in schools of no very high grade, but they were quite sufficient for the ordinary purposes of life, and were gradually augmented by reading and contact with his fellows as he increased in years. To his fondness of reading books of travels and the accounts of foreign lands given in the newspapers of the day, he attributed his desire to visit America, and, ultimately his permanent settlement in the United States. Possessed, through his own industry, of means sufficient for this purpose, he left his native land, uncertain as to whether he would ever see it again or not. It was in 1833 that he found himself in Newark, N. J., then a growing town offering great inducements to manufacturers and to all persons inclined to mechanical pursuits. An utter stranger in a strange land, with no other commendation than his honest, manly ways, he, nevertheless, obtained a position in in the great saddlery establishment of Smith & Wright, the latter of whom became subsequently a Senator of the United States. In this connection he remained for two years, when having become familiar with the business ways of the land of his adoption, he resolved to test

Digitized by Google

Thos. B. Reddie

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

his own abilities as an operator and a financier. He, accordingly, undertook in a modest way the manufacture of leather trunks and carpet bags. Success attended him beyond his expectations, and a large and lucrative business seemed to await him in the no distant future. During the first ten years he managed alone his rapidly extending operations, but in 1846 he found it necessary to take a business partner to assist him in his labors. With that sagacity for which he became so noted, he associated with himself Mr. John Morrison, who in this connection became known as one of Newark's most estimable business men. This partnership continued until 1861, when Mr. Morrison died. This was a sore loss to Mr. Peddie, who was now constrained to give undivided attention to his immense establishment. Fortunately, among his principal assistants was Mr. George B. Jenkinson, whose familiarity with every department of the complicated works relieved Mr. Peddie gradually of much of his labor, and finally resulted in a partnership between them under the firm name of T. B. Peddie & Co. Under this name the business was conducted until the death of its founder.

Notwithstanding the increasing burthen of a great and ever growing establishment, Mr. Peddie neglected none of his duties as a good and patriotic citizen. His interests led him, of course, to take a prominent and active part in the moneyed institutions of the city, in many of which he was as an influential director. But, moreover, where personal interest did not call him, he was equally earnest and active. In almost every important public movement, he was among the leaders, aiding by means of his advice, as well as his purse. Of the Board of Trade of the city of Newark he was a useful and efficient member, at one time its President, and at all times a warm participant in its proceedings.

In politics Mr. Peddie was a stanch Republican, and an enthusiastic advocate of the principles and measures of that party. While by no means an office seeker, he was, because of his popularity and sterling honesty, called to occupy positions of honor and responsibility. In 1863 and 1864 he served as a member of the state General Assembly, in which capacity he gave valuable support to the general government during the war of the Rebellion, and by means of his influence and his contributions did good service in behalf of the Union. For a period of four years, 1866–1869, he was Mayor of Newark, an office which he filled with credit to himself and advantage to the city. In 1876, he represented the sixth Congressional district

Digitized by Google

of New Jersey in the Forty-fifth Congress. On the expiration of his term of office he declined a further nomination.

Mr. Peddie showed a remarkable interest in young people and an earnest desire to see, in the rising generation, worthy inheritors of the institutions which he had cherished and done all in his power to protect. This accounts for the great interest which he took in educational matters. As a token of the appreciation of his services in this direction, his name was given to the Peddie Institute, a flourishing academy in Hightstown, N. J. He was one of the early promoters of the Newark Technical School, an institution for which the city is mainly indebted to its Board of Trade, by which body the first steps were taken for its establishment, with Mr. Peddie as chairman of the committee having charge of the enterprise; for many years he was a trustee of the Newark City Home, a school to which he gave much attention. Of all benevolent enterprises he was a liberal supporter, ever ready to advance them by contributing of his means as well as by his personal services.

The last work of Mr. Peddie's life was the erection of the massive pile spoken of in the first lines of this sketch as the "Peddie Memorial." This name for the structure was not suggested until after his death, nor was the building completed until some time after that event. It was Mr. Peddie's design that this edifice should be so constructed and appointed that it might serve, not only as a house of worship, but that it might also afford every facility for gatherings of an intellectual character, and for ennobling entertainments that might be within the reach of everybody. His wish in this respect was complied with, and after his death which occurred February 16, 1889, his widow carried out another wish on his part by giving to the church valuable property in New York city and elsewhere, which yields it a handsome revenue.

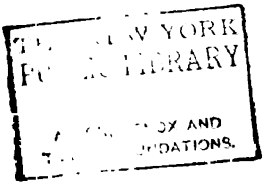
HORACE J. POINIER.

The early ancestors of Horace J. Poinier were Huguenots, who, with many thousands of those persecuted on account of their religious belief, fled from France in 1681, and found refuge in Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England. The Poiniers went to England, and thence the earliest American ancestors of Mr. Poinier emigrated to this country, and settled in White Plains, Westchester

Digitized by Google

H. J. Poincied.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

county, N. Y. In this place his father was born in 1769, and here remained until 1790, when he removed to Newark, N. J., where the subject of this sketch was born October, 28, 1810.

In his youthful days, young Poinier enjoyed all the advantages afforded by the schools of his native place. Although destined for a business life, his great fondness for reading and study resulted in the acquisition of valuable and varied knowledge which, as he advanced in years, enabled him to take high rank as a man of intelligence and sagacity. Possessed of the necessary means, he entered early into business as a lumber merchant, and in this achieved such success that, in 1869, he retired with a handsome competence. Still in the possession of abundant vigor of both mind and body, he could not remain idle, nor could those who might derive advantage from his rare business abilities permit him to do so. It is not then surprising that he should have been offered, or that he should have accepted, the presidency of the Newark City Insurance Company. This position he held for nearly fourteen years, when, in 1882, the company transferred its business to the Citizens Insurance Company of New York.

But not in the various departments of purely business affairs alone did Mr. Poinier display his aptitude. While carefully attending to his extensive mercantile interests he was not negligent of what was due from him in promoting the welfare of his native city by using all the means in his power to increase its advantages as a residence as well as a mercantile and manufacturing centre. In all the enterprises inaugurated to this end he was a prominent participator. In public meetings he was active and influential, and when measures involving the general welfare could be carried out only by private aid, he always lent a helping hand. Upon his entrance into business life he showed his desire to be useful to his fellow citizens by earnestly laboring to give the town an efficient fire department, and in this, as in all enterprises for the public good, he was eminently successful. In 1843 and 1844 he was a member of the Common Council of Newark, representing in that body the ward in which he then resided. While in this position he took a very active part in promoting all desirable public improvements, giving to them, in many instances his personal attention. In the public schools he also manifested a hearty interest, and every question affecting their usefulness was carefully considered by him. Their preservation from all sectarian influences was to him an essential matter, and

Digitized by Google

therein he gave frequent proof of his liberal spirit and excellent judgment.

Mr. Poinier's career as a business man, and a public spirited citizen up to 1853, gained for him hosts of admirers, and at the close of that year, he was selected as a candidate for the office of Mayor of the city of Newark. His well known integrity, thorough business qualifications and general intelligence pointed him out as the proper man for the position, and he was triumphantly chosen to fill it. In January, 1854, he entered upon the duties of the office, which in that year proved to be very onerous and disagreeable, on account of the Asiatic cholera which made its appearance in Newark, filling every household with fear and trembling. Its visit to the city was easily accounted for by the wiseacres of the day, some of whom attributed it to dirty streets, some to impure water, some to impure rum and beer, some to Sabbath breaking and some to immorality in general. Every one admitted that the plague might be due to a combination of those various causes, and that it was the duty of the Mayor to bring down the strong arm of the law upon them all. It might be thought that it was a good deal to ask of him, but he treated the whole matter with such rare good sense and judgment, that the results of his labors were crowned with something never dreamed of by him, to wit: the formation of a "Law, Order and Morality" party, with himself as its leader. He accepted the situation, unexpected as it was, and, in the following year was re-elected. The occasions, however, on which law, order and morality can boldly enter the political field are few and far between. All men are wise and good citizens under ordinary circumstances, but some men grow wiser and better when the cholera or starvation happen to be at the door. Law, order and morality shook their fists long enough to elect Mr. Poinier for a third term as Mayor, and then quietly divided their forces, and continued their work "on the sly."

Three years' service as Mayor was, in Mr. Poinier's opinion, all that could be justly demanded of any citizen, and he retired from the office, with the respect of the entire community, and the consciousness of having discharged his duties faithfully and honestly. For a number of years he was a member of the Board of Chosen Freeholders of Essex county. Of the Howard Savings Institution, charted in 1857, he was one of the corporators. For many years the Newark City Bank has numbered him among its directors. Of the Newark and Rosendale Cement Company he has been vice-

Digitized by Google

president and treasurer. The Newark Library Association and the Protestant Foster Home of Newark have enjoyed the benefit of his name and influence, and to several of these institutions he is still rendering valuable service as a director or manager.

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS.

GENERAL JACKSON, by James Parton, New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1893. (Great Commander's Series.)

A melancholy interest attaches to this volume, because it was the last work of a prolific pen. Two months before Mr. Parton's death the last page of the MS. of this biography was finished. It is therefore worthy of especial note, that its style is so vigorous, the treatment so vivacious, the narrative so skillful, that it is no mere conventionalism to say that these pages are as "interesting as a novel." There is no need for the editor's apologetic caution in introducing the work in the preface. A more positive tone might have been adopted in speaking of such a charming and yet discriminating work as this.

It is difficult at this date for one not blinded by partisanship, and for one who wishes to cherish a high ideal for political life, to keep the mind in a state of calm judicial impartiality in dealing with a man who gave to our republic the baneful spoils system with all its heritage of evil and of shame, involving the degradation of politics and a waste of the public money so reckless as to amount to thievery. Yet, Jackson did other things and vastly better things, for his country than committing that sad mistake, in which his temperament got away with his judgment, and of which, could he have seen the consequences as we now see them, we are certain he would have repented in sackcloth and ashes; for with all his faults he was a true lover of his country. Nevertheless, as we follow this book, which does its subject full justice and vividly presents his merits, but glosses over no real defects of character and conduct, we are

Digitized by Google

painfully impressed with the unworthiness of the earlier career. There is unfortunately a good deal of the rowdy and ruffian in it—the playing with dice, the racing of horses, the brawling and fighting, the dueling with deadly intent and remorseless execution. All this makes up an unhappy record, and the faults of temper, of imperious willfulness, of unforgiving revengefulness for political hostility, which led to the mistakes of the later life, were no doubt the harvest of the wild oats sown at the beginning.

The two conspicuous acts of Jackson as President, were the erection of the spoils system and the casting down of the Bank of the United States. In treating of the former, Mr. Parton significantly begins :

> It is delightful to observe with what a scrupulous conscientiousness the early presidents of this republic disposed of the places in their gift. Washington demanded to be satisfied on three points with regard to an applicant for office. Is he honest? Is he capable? Has he the confidence of his fellow citizens? Not till these questions were satisfactorily answered did he deign to inquire respecting the political opinions of a candidate. * * * The example of General Washington was followed by his successors.

Then without direct censure, but without varnishing the act, the biographer indicates the real extent of the new departure. The author, again, clearly shows what was the animus inducing Jackson to attack the bank. It was essentially political hatred, glossed over (and undoubtedly to his own mind sincerely) with a zeal for the public good in defence against "bloated bondholders." And ingeniously does Mr. Parton exhibit how Jackson's act defeated his own best ideas of financial policy :

> General Jackson desired a currency of gold and silver. Never were such floods of paper money emitted as during the continuance of his own fiscal system. He wished to reduce the number and the importance of banks, bankers, brokers, and speculators. The years succeeding the transfer of the deposits were the golden biennium of just those classes. In a word, his system, as far as my acquaintance with such matters enables me to judge, worked ill at every moment of its operation, and upon every interest of business and morality. To it more than to any other causes combined, we owe the inflation of 1835 and 1836, the universal ruin of 1837, and the dreary and hopeless depression of the five years following.

Notwithstanding all this, let us, as impartial students of our annals, make an effort to be just to Jackson. We shall find our author aiding us most effectively to attain that laudable end.

Digitized by Google

Among other things, he cautions us as follows (a specimen by the way, of the writer's vivacity of style):

> No man will ever be quite able to comprehend Andrew Jackson who has not personally known a Scotch-Irishman. More than he was anything else, he was a North-of-Irelander—a tenacious, pugnacious race; honest, yet capable of dissimulation; often angry, but most prudent when most furious; endowed by nature with the gift of extracting from every affair and every relation all the strife it can be made to yield; at home and among dependents, all tenderness and generosity; to opponents, violent, ungenerous, prone to believe the worst of them; a race that means to tell the truth, but when excited by anger or warped by prejudice, incapable of either telling, or remembering, or knowing the truth; not taking kindly to culture, but able to achieve wonderful things without it; a strange blending of the best and worst qualities of two races. Jackson had these traits in an exaggerated degree; as Irish as though he were not Scotch; as Scotch as though he were not Irish.

In weighing the merits of this book we are to remember, however, that it does not belong to the *American Statesman Series*, where the political merits and shortcomings are more properly the theme of the biography. But is part of the *Great Commander's Series*, and mainly as a military man is Jackson here to be placed before us. Mr. Parton has duly heeded this obligation, although he is one of the two or three exceptions of non-military men treating of these lives of generals and admirals. The larger proportion of the volume follows Jackson in his career as a soldier, and the narration of campaigns, minute in details, vivid and picturesque in presentation, constitutes the chief fascination of those pages. Jackson does come out strongly and yet justly before us a consummate commander, daring, prompt, prudent, vigilant, overcoming mountainous difficulties with patience, perserverance, but iron determination, striking hard when the moment comes, but warily waiting its coming, and leaving no stone unturned to be ready for it. We need not compare him to Wellington, or put Grant or Sheridan into the shade by the side of him, as some seem inclined to do. We may give vast credit to Jackson as general without vitiating that just meed of praise by such extravagance.

In view of all that Jackson was and did, we cannot but admire the fine conclusion of this book, reading like the peroration to an eloquent discourse, and especially noteworthy (as we intimated above) as the last paragraph composed by this veteran and accomplished author:

Digitized by Google

"Most of our history for the last hundred years will not be remembered for many centuries; but perhaps among the few things oblivion will spare will be the outline of the story of Andrew Jackson —the poor Irish immigrant's orphan son; who defended his country at New Orleans, and, being elected President therefor, kept that country in an uproar for eight years; and, after being more hated and more loved than any man of his day, died peacefully at his home in Tennessee, and was borne to his grave, followed by the benedictions of a large majority of his fellow citizens."

Digitized by Google

Dio Francesco

Yours truly

Hon. E. Strong

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XIX. DECEMBER–JANUARY, 1893–4. NO. 2–3.

NEW YORK IN THE STAMP ACT TROUBLES, 1761–1768.

PART I.*

THE MONCKTON ARMS.

SIR CHARLES HARDY having resigned the post of governor, the king on March 20, 1761, on the recommendation of the Earl of Halifax and the Board of Trade, appointed Robert Monckton governor and captain-general, and Cadwallader Colden lieutenant-governor. The officer now appointed as governor was a favorite in the colonies. A son of Viscount Galway, he was entitled to the social distinction which he received in the intimacy of the high families of the province, Mr. John Watts being one of his warmest personal friends. He began his career in Flanders, and was transferred in 1753 to the American station, where he successively commanded the posts of Halifax, Annapolis Royal, and Nova Scotia, of which he had been lieutenant-governor since 1756, during which period he also commanded the Royal Americans in Loudoun's army, was engaged at the siege of Louisburg, and later was second in command to General Wolfe at the capture of Quebec. Severely wounded in this action, he was promoted colonel, and in 1761 major-general. It may here be added that, although offered a command later in the war of the Revolution, he declined to draw his sword against the colonists who had fought under his command in the French war.

General Monckton's commission reached New York by the Alcide man-of-war on October 20, 1761, and on the 26th he was sworn in as governor. He was received with great enthusiasm by

* From "The Memorial History of New York."

Digitized by Google

the people; the corporation of the city waited upon him with an address, and presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box, at a cost of twenty-four pounds four shillings, as the minutes show. With his patent he received permission to quit the province and take command of the expeditcon fitting out against Martinique. He therefore abstained from any act of authority. He declined to receive Mr. John Chamber's resignation as judge, and seems to have confined himself to accepting that of Mr. Archibald Kennedy from the council, as his age and his duties as collector of the customs were sufficient motives for withdrawal. He also recommended Mr. Joseph Reade for the vacancy on the board. On November 15 Major-General Monckton produced in council his leave of absence, and passed over the seals to Colden; but by one of those omissions not uncommon in the history of the colonies, the king's instructions to Governor Monckton, although mentioned in his commission, did not arrive with it. The lieutenant-governor had called upon him to produce the missing document, and seemed inclined to question the legality of his assuming the office at all; a course which was neither approved by the council nor by the public at large. The feeling of disapprobation was silently displayed by the omission of the lieutenant-governor's name from the addresses and congratulations of public bodies, the judges, the bar, the grand jury and others.

In the king's instructions to Sir Charles Hardy, Governor Monckton's predecessor, and like him authorized to quit his government on the business of his Majesty's forces, directions were given that in such case one full moiety of the salary and of all perquisites and emoluments of the post should be paid to the lieutenant-governor. It must be held in mind that while the governor resided in the province the lieutenant-governor had neither salary nor emolument of any kind. It had been Monckton's intention to abandon his share to Colden, and he had ordered the preparation of a legal instrument of transfer, but, irritated by Colden's captious attitude in the matter of the instructions, he changed his mind and in writing demanded of Colden a surrender of his claim. Colden demurred, making a general promise to comply with the king's instructions when they should arrive. Colden openly told the governor that he hoped that the instructions would give to himself the whole perquisites. Monckton was on the point of suspending the lieutenant-governor without ceremony when mutual friends

Digitized by Google

arranged covenants and a tripartite indenture between the two officers and Mr. Banyar, the secretary of the council. Monckton insisted that all perquisites should pass into Banyar's hands, and required bonds from Colden and Banyar for their faithful performance of the covenant, and stipulated that the accounts should be rendered on oath. On November 14 the fleet of one hundred sail —convoyed by the Alcide, of sixty-four guns; the Devonshire, of seventy-four; two of fifty, and one of forty guns—left Sandy Hook for Martinique. The government now again devolved on Colden.

Thomas Jones

Mr. Colden's second administration of the affairs of the province was closed by the return of General Monckton from the conquest of Martinique on June 12, 1762. He immediately assumed the reins of government and entered upon its duties with a personal prestige of the highest character. The health of General Monckton making it advisable for him to leave the province for a time, he sailed for England on June 28, again delivering the seals to Colden, and leaving his private affairs in the charge of his intimate personal friend, John Watts.*

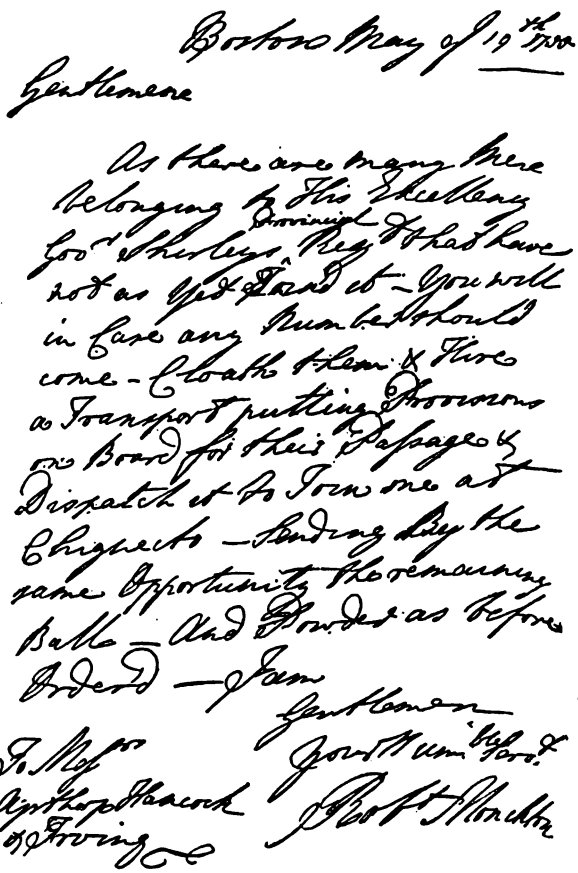
Nothing of importance took place after Monckton left until Mr. Colden called the assembly together, on September 5, 1764. To the trite suggestions of his opening speech the assembly replied in an address which was the signal note of the coming contest. It ran in part :

> Nothing can add to the pleasure we receive from the information your Honour gives us that his Majesty our most gracious sovereign distinguishes and approves our

* Smith's "History of New York" closes with the return of Monckton from the conquest of Martinique. There is no further history by any contemporary of Colden, except that by Chief-Justice Thomas Jones, written after the Revolution, and recently published by the New York Historical Society.

Digitized by Google

conduct. When his service requires it we shall ever be ready to exert ourselves with loyalty, fidelity and zeal, and, as we have always complied in the most dutiful manner with every requisition made by his directions, we with all humility hope that his Majesty who is and whose ancestors have long been the guardians of British liberty will so protect us in our rights as to prevent our falling into the abject state of being forever after incapable of doing what can merit his distinction or approbation. Such must be the state of that wretched people who (being taxed by a power subordinate to none and in a great measure unacquainted with their circumstances) can call nothing their own. . . . We hope your Honour will join us in an endeavor to secure that great badge of English liberty of being taxed only with our own consent to which we conceive all his Majesty's subjects at home and abroad equally entitled; and also in pointing out to the ministry the many mischiefs arising from the act commonly called the Sugar Act both to us and to Great Britain. Your Honour may depend on our giving all due attention to the support of Government and that by the punctual discharge of our public debts the irreproachable credit of this Colony will be maintained.



THE MONCKTON LETTER.

This significant address was reported by Philip Livingston, member for the city, whose name appears on the journals of the assembly as alderman, from his having held the office of alderman

Digitized by Google

of the East Ward from 1754 to 1762. In replying to it, Colden stated that as the material parts could not with any propriety be made to himself, he should transmit it to more proper judges of the sentiments they adopted.

Meanwhile, in the privacy of their committee-rooms, and, as Colden directly asserts in his letter to the lords commissioners, in a secrecy from himself which he did not think it requisite for himself to inquire into, the assembly prepared petitions to the king and to the houses of lords and commons. The assembly were no longer content to deal with Great Britain through its representative authorities here. They carried their grievances to the mother-country and to the foot of the throne. To account for the intense feeling aroused in the colonies by the attitude of the British ministry, a brief summary of the Seven Years' War is necessary. The memory of this great struggle is still fresh, after the lapse of nearly a century and a half, in the towns of New England and the Middle States which were then border settlements. Many a family preserves the old King George musket and the heavy saber which were the arms of some forefather on one of the hundred fields of this close contest.

While a nominal peace still existed in Europe, there was a smoldering border struggle along the line of the English settlements in America, which broke into flame when the French began to tighten the interior cordon which inclosed the colonies from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi; a cordon doubly dangerous because it included the savage tribes who were under the influence of the French. The building of a post by Du Quesne, the governor of Canada, at the junction of the Monongahela and Alleghany rivers, was the immediate cause of hostilities. Washington, then a youth of twenty-two, was sent by the Virginia government with a regiment of colony troops to drive them out. Met by a superior force of French and Indians, the Virginians were forced to surrender. The news reaching England, Braddock was sent out with a few regiments of British regulars to support the British claims. On his arrival a convention of colonial governors assembled at his request in Virginia, and a plan of military movements was concerted. Of the three operations he reserved for himself the attack on Fort Du Quesne. The disaster from which Washington with difficulty saved a fragment of the army had far-reaching effects; one of which was to teach the colonists that in a

Digitized by Google

conflict with Indian antagonists they were the superiors of their well-trained but inexperienced British cousins.

The capture of Fort Mahon in Minorca, the key of the Mediterranean, by the Duc de Richelieu with a French force; the withdrawal of the British fleet sent to the relief of this post by Admiral Byng; and the equally disgraceful retreat of the Duke of Cumberland with an army of fifty thousand men, raised for the defense of Hanover, before a French force, aroused and alarmed the people of England. Great emergencies develop strong characters and bring to the front great men. In this dire stress England found a man and a character equal to the demand; a man who embodied all those types which, strong and unlovely though they be, combine to form a great English statesman. Such was William Pitt, the great commoner, foremost of Englishmen since Cromwell.

The contest, as has already been stated, began in America. The fight at Fort Du Quesne was the initial movement in the great struggle, which was immediately to change the face of America, and ultimately of the political world on both continents. The several successful campaigns in the Canadas have been briefly summed up, the war continuing with unabated vigor, but with varied success, till the fall of Quebec.* The spirit which the magic power of Pitt in-

* Series of glorious victories from the beginning of hostilities in 1755: The expedition of that year of General Winslow against the French and Nova Scotia, with an army of provincials chiefly; of 1758 against Louisburg and the islands of Cape Breton, under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst; against Frontenac by Colonel Bradstreet, with regulars and provincials detached from General Abercrombie s army; of General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne, with regulars and provincials: of General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson, with regulars and provincials, against Niagara, in 1759; of General Amherst, the same year, against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with regulars and provincials; and of General Wolfe against Quebec, and the final capture of Montreal by General Amherst, with regulars and provincials, which completed the conquest of the Canadas.

Digitized by Google

fused into the colonies appears in the alacrity with which they voted men and money and supplies of war. Dr. Franklin states that the number of Americans, or provincial troops, employed in the war was greater than that of the regulars, and that the colonies raised, paid, and clothed nearly twenty-five thousand men, a number equal to those sent from Great Britain, and far beyond their proportion. In a letter from Boston of December 18, 1766, preserved in a newspaper extract in a curious volume entitled "Lord Chatham's Clippings," it is stated that the Royal Americans engaged in the single campaign which resulted in the capture of Quebec amounted to fifteen thousand men. Little wonder, therefore, that Pitt should hold himself the unflinching friend of the hardy colonists who had made his victory possible; for without their aid, under the material conditions of the last century, the Canadas could not have been wrested from the grasp of France. In the spring of 1762 the French ministry, disheartened by defeat, and at a loss for means to continue the war, made overtures for peace. In November the treaty was signed at Paris by England and Portugal on the one hand, and the Bourbon houses of France and Spain on the other. To England were ceded all the French possessions in America, the Spanish possessions of Florida, all Louisiana to the Mississippi, except New Orleans, which France transferred to Spain in consideration of the cession of the Floridas, on which England insisted to complete the Atlantic border of the colonial settlements.

Nowhere was the glorious peace hailed with more patriotic joy than in the American colonies; not alone because it brought to an end the border warfare with its aggravations of savage cruelty, but because it was the triumph of England, that mother-country with whose every heart-beat their own pulses throbbed in unison.

The peace was ratified on February 10, 1763. The joy of the colonists was dashed by the dread which had grown upon them of serious encroachments on their own rights and liberties since the enforced retirement of Pitt. They seem to have been perfectly aware of the nature of the threatening contest. One of the colonial governors, Hutchinson of Massachusetts—like Colden, a subservient upholder of the royal prerogative,—said: "A good peace with foreign enemies would enable us to make a better defence against our domestic foes."

In February, 1763, the Earl of Bute, in prosecution of a well

Digitized by Google

Robt Monckton

Digitized by Google

matured plan, removed Lord Sandys from the board of trade and put Charles Townshend, an ambitious statesman, able and unscrupulous where his ambition was at stake, in his place. Although holding only the office of first lord of trade, Townshend had also a seat in the cabinet, counseled the king in person on administration affairs, and, while the self-willed Egremont still held the nominal control, Townshend became the actual secretary of state for the colonies.

On March 9, 1763, Townshend introduced the first part of the scheme for taxing America by act of parliament. The supplies demanded for the first year of peace alarmed the House of Commons, and they were eager for any method of relief. It was shown that the duty on the trade of the American colonies with the French and Spanish West Indies was ineffectual because prohibitory; and in a general way that the collection of a colonial revenue of two thousand pounds cost the customs department in Great Britain between seven and eight thousand a year. The fact was lost sight of that this difference passed into the pockets mainly of the government officers who held these sinecures. Indeed it may be here asserted that the system of British colonial government was a system of plunder by the officials of each home administration in turn. Townshend's plan was to reduce the duty, but rigidly to enforce its collection. Although the plan of an act further to raise revenue by stamps was at this time indubitably in the minds of the ministry (the amount to be raised to be sufficient to support the army establishment in America), it was not as yet declared. It was Grenville's share to bring forward a bill for the enforcement of the navigation laws, authorizing the employment of ships of the navy and turning its officers and seamen into customs authorities and informers.

These arrangements were supplemented by an act of parliament establishing a standing army in America. This was the last important act of Bute's administration. In April the seals were given to George Grenville, and the administration of affairs fell into the hands of a triumvirate of which he was the head, as chancellor of the exchequer, while Egremont and Halifax were secretaries of state. Jenkinson, Bute's efficient assistant, became principal secretary of the treasury.

The details of American administration now fell to Halifax, whose experience was large, and the new measures were rapidly

Digitized by Google

brought forward. On the morning of September 22, 1763, three lords of the treasury, with George Grenville at their head, held a meeting at their council-board in Downing street, and adopted a minute directing Jenkinson, the first secretary of the treasury, to "write to the Commissioners of the Stamp Duties to prepare the draft of a bill to be presented to Parliament for extending the stamp duties to the colonies." This order was at once executed. Mr. Bancroft, in his account of this period, asks the question, "Who was the author of the American Stamp Act?" Jenkinson said later in the House of Commons that "if the Stamp Act was a good measure the merit of it was not due to Grenville; if it was a bad one the ill policy did not belong to him." But he never informed the house, nor indeed any one else during his life, who was its author. Bancroft relieves Bute from the charge; but Lord North, who supported the act, said in the House of Commons that he took the propriety of passing it from Grenville's authority. In point of fact, the first proposition to tax the colonies by means of stamped paper was made by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke of New York, in 1744, to the lords of trade; but Governor Clinton, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle on December 13 of that year, doubted the expediency of the measure, as being contrary to the spirit of the people, "who are quite strangers to any duty but such as they raise themselves."

OLD BLUE BELL TAVERN.

Grenville's proposal, made on March 9, to draw a revenue from America by stamps, and his notice that a bill would be introduced at the next session, crystallized public opinion on both sides of the ocean. On his challenging the opposition in the Commons to deny the right of parliament, no voice was lifted in reply, and the next day it was resolved that such right existed and that its exercise was proper. It is true that the house was thin and the hour late, and that the declaration of the minister was only of intention.

Digitized by Google

But if the crystallization of opinion in England united all parties, including the friends of America, in defense of the right of parliament to impose taxes on the colonies, that same process united all parties in America in the denial of that right, and in the assertion of the doctrine which had been claimed in the New York colony since 1683, that taxation without representation was a wrong and an injustice to which no freeman would submit. Nor yet, in view of the menace of the twenty regiments of British soldiers to be sent over and quartered in the chief cities, were they willing to avoid the issue or postpone it by assenting in advance to the proposed act, as was suggested by their "well wishers" abroad. There was still a faint hope that by earnest representation of the agents of the colonies abroad and by respectful petition to the king and parliament the blow might be averted.

The assembly of New York was the first to petition the king and parliament in a respectful representation on October 18, 1764. After a declaration of inviolable fidelity, they recited "that in the three branches of the political frame of Government established in the year 1683, viz., the Governor, a Council of the Royal appointment, and the representatives of the People, was lodged the legislative authority of the Colony, and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government; that the people of the Colony consider themselves in a state of perfect eqality with their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and as a political body enjoying like the inhabitants of that country the exclusive right of taxing themselves; a right which whether inherent in the people or sprung from any other source has received the Royal Sanction, is at the basis of our Colony State, and become venerable by long usage; that the Representatives for the Colony of New York cannot therefore without the strongest demonstrations of grief express their sentiments on the late intimation of a design to impose taxes on the Colonies by laws to be passed in Great Britain and they invite the King to interpose his prerogative on the unconstitutional law." On the same day, and by the same resolution in which the transmission of these memorials was ordered, the assembly created a committee to correspond with the several assemblies on the American continent upon the several objectionable acts of parliament lately passed with relation to the trade of the northern colonies, and also on the subject "of the impending dangers which threaten the Colonies of being taxed by

Digitized by Google

laws to be passed in Great Britain." William Bayard, a member of this committee of correspondence, visited Boston to confer with the Massachusetts assembly, which on the 22d of the same month adopted a petition in the same direction but less vigorous in text and spirit.

Early in the year 1765 Grenville introduced his bill into the House of Commons. It contained fifty-five articles relating to stamp duties in America, and passed the house on February 7. Previous to its passage the American agents were advised that if the colonies would propose any other means of raising the required revenue the stamp duty would be deferred or laid aside. To this they had no authority to make answer. The bill was approved by the House of Lords in March, without debate, and on March 22 received the king's signature.

The news of the passage of the act reached New York in April, and aroused a storm of indignation—a storm tempered by the consoling information that there was a large body in England whose sympathies were with the colonies. The English advices of May brought word that "without doors we hear every person at all qualified to form any judgment of the matter seemed in favor of the Colonies." When the news reached New York, the assembly was in recess. In Virginia the House of Burgesses was sitting. On May 29 they replied with a series of resolutions, firm in expression, declaratory of their rights and of the unconstitutionality of the measure. It was during the debate on this occasion that Patrick Henry used the memorable words which electrified the continent and in their bold utterance sufficed to make his name immortal. The people of Pennsylvania showed themselves no less jealous of their rights. On April 14 the great guns at the fort and those at the barracks in New York were spiked; a sufficient declaration of the popular temper. And now each incoming packet brought accounts of the growing strength of a sentiment in England in favor of the bold attitude of the colonies. The news arrived of the stirring words of Colonel Barré, the brave companion of Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, in answer to the assumption of Townshend that the colonists were "children of England's planting." "The Americans are Sons of Liberty," retorted Barré in a tone which shook the house.

In comment on this and declarations similar in nature if less vigorous in expression, the press of the colonies took up the phrase.

Digitized by Google

On May 30 the author of the "Sentinel" series of letters in the "New York Gazette," took Liberty as his text. Interspersed among the didactic phrases which were the fashion of the day are some strong, homely sentiments. "In proportion as Liberty is precious to us should we hold them dear who lift up their hands in defence of it and abhor those who impiously dare attempt to rend it from us." It closed with some verses more patriotic than poetical, but which are a fair sample of the popular rhyme of the period:

Cursed be the man who e'er shall raise
His sacrilegious hand
To drive fair liberty, our praise!
From his own native land.

O may his memory never die,
By future ages curst;
But live to lasting infamy,
Branded of traytors worst.

The history of revolutions shows the power of a phrase. That of Barré struck the strongest chord in the colonial heart. Associations sprung up instantly in every colony under the magic name of Sons of Liberty. The word independence was not as yet breathed aloud, but that the idea was already in the germ appears from a London letter of February 18, 1765, published in Charleston, South Carolina, on April 24, and repeated in New York in May: "Several publications from North America have lately made their appearance here (London) in which the independency of the Colonies is asserted in pretty round terms."

This faction, as Colden terms it, was led in the beginning by the great jurists James Alexander and William Smith the elder, whose mantle of judicial and popular leadership had fallen in the next generation upon William Livingston, William Smith the younger, and John Morin Scott. These three gentlemen, whom Jones styles the young triumvirate, were educated at Yale College. Determined as early as 1752 to pull down church and state, continues Jones, in his savage anathema, and to raise their own government and religion upon its ruins, the triumvirate formed a

Digitized by Google

club, under the appellation of the Whig Club, which met once in each week at the popular tavern of the King's Arms.*

At this Whig Club, says Jones also, the usual and customary toasts drunk were "the immortal memory of Oliver Cromwell, of Hugh Peters, of General Ludlow," and others of the regicides. They had an organ in the "Independent Reflector."

From an early date (1760) there had been a resolute resistance by the seamen of the colonies to the nefarious practice of impressment from the market and wood boats, and from the merchantmen which visited our harbors, nowhere more determined than at the port of New-York.† In 1764 four fishermen were pressed from their vessels and carried on board a tender from a man-of-war on the Halifax station. Next day, the captain of the tender venturing on shore, the boat was suddenly seized and dragged through the streets to the middle of the green in the Fields (City Hall Park), where it was burned and destroyed. Meanwhile the captain was escorted quietly to the coffee-house which stood on the southwest corner of Wall and Queen (later Water) streets, where he disclaimed all responsibility for the seizure and gave an order for the release of the fishmermen. From the suddenness of the appearance, the orderly determination, and the equally sudden disappearance of the crowd or mob or gathering, which are noted in the recital of this affair, Dawson claims, and not unfairly, that they were an organized body; "minute men," he calls them. But the Sons of Liberty was an institution of a more permanent character and a more defined organization than can be discerned in the ephemeral actions cited.

In the months of June and July news arrived of the appointment of stamp agents for the several colonies, and of the official announcement that the act would be enforced on November 1. As the sentiment of resistance was general, a concert of action by the several colonies was a natural corollary. Priority in a demand

* Contemporary authority places the tavern under this sign in Broad street, near the Long Bridge, under the management of Richard Cooke in 1750. In 1754, the sign was hanging at the same place, then described as opposite the Royal Exchange. In 1757, the tavern kept by Cooke appears in the public prints as the Gentlemen's Exchange Coffee House. This building was on the northeast corner of Broad and Dock (now Pearl) streets, opposite the well known Fraunces' Tavern, and was pulled down in 1890. In 1764 the old sign was carried by Edward Barden to the upper end of Broadway, facing the Commons. The King's Arms was evidently the great Whig resort.

† In that year the crew of the Sampson of Bristol, refused to obey the signal guns of H. M. S. Winchester to bring to; and, firing upon the man-of-war's barge on attempting to board her, a number of men were killed. The Samson fortunately got into harbor, and the men escaped; the people protecting them and concealing them from the reach of the sheriff and the detachment of militia ordered to his assistance.

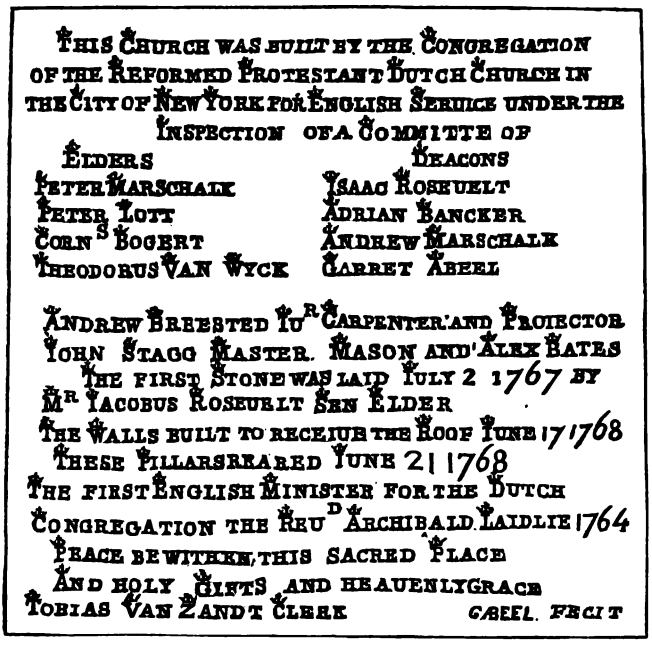
Digitized by Google

so universal cannot be safely claimed, nor yet to which individual in the several committees of correspondence the credit of suggesting it is due. The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay brought the subject to a focus by agreeing to a committee of representatives or of burgesses on the condition of the colonies, to consider of a dutiful, loyal, and humble representation to his Majesty and parliament for relief. This meeting was set for the first Tuesday in October, and New-York was designated as the place of assemblage.

New-York was naturally selected for the place of meeting as the most convenient because it was the geographical, political, and commercial center of the colonies, accessible by water as by land. It must not be forgotten that every one of the original thirteen colonies was a seaboard settlement: each with a seaport of its own; each with its direct communication with England for commerce, and each with some coastwise trade; each independent, and jealous of its independence of the others; and each loyal in its own measure to the parent government, as its own interests were consulted in the enforcement or the relaxation of the laws of trade. While each, therefore, might have stood ready to take its chances against its neighbors, even under their onerous exactions, the idea of a danger which they must suffer or avert in common naturally brought them together, and there was no thought of local jealousy when New-York was chosen as the meeting place for the most important assemblage known in their history. New-York was the natural center of influence. Her geographical position, midway between the more populous settlements to the eastward and southward, which the broad Hudson and the great bay at its mouth divided, was the natural key to the continent. The exposed situation of her northern border to French and Indian invasion had been a concern at all times to all the colonies. Upon her safety hung the entire system of English settlements. Moreover no colony was in such direct sympathy with England. It must be remembered that it was an English conquest, not an English colonial settlement, and as such was more in touch with the ideas of the England of that day than its neighbors of New England or of Pennsylvania. New-York was a purely commercial city whose life was English trade; most of her merchants were Britons born or in close relation with their kindred across the sea. Favored beyond any of the provincial cities by its climate, the charm of its natural scenery, the variety and abundance of food, native and

Digitized by Google

tropical, of water and land supply, and already the seat of a thriving trade, it was the coveted post of British officials. Here they found church and state very much as at home; a wealthy class whose manners and habits were formed on the easy home pattern, whose residences and tables compared with any of those even of the richest English gentry, and whose native British roughness had been tempered by a reasonable infusion of Dutch and Huguenot blood.


THIS CHURCH WAS BUILT BY THE CONGREGATION
OF THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH IN
THE CITY OF NEW YORK FOR ENGLISH SERVICE UNDER THE
INSPECTION OF A COMMITTE OF
ELDERS
PETER MARSCHALK
PETER LOTT
CORN S BOGERT
THEODORUS VAN WYCK
DEACONS
ISAAC ROSEVELT
ADRIAN BANCKER
ANDREW MARSCHALK
GARRET ABEEL
ANDREW BREESTED IU R CARPENTER AND PROIECTOR
IOHN STAGG MASTER. MASON AND ALEX BATES
THE FIRST STONE WAS LAID IULY 2 1767 BY
M R IACOBUS ROSEVELT SEN ELDER
THE WALLS BUILT TO RECEIUE THE ROOF IUNE 17 1768
THESE PILLARS REARED IUNE 21 1768
THE FIRST ENGLISH MINISTER FOR THE DUTCH
CONGREGATION THE REV D ARCHIBALD LAIDLIE 1764
PEACE BE WITHIN THIS SACRED PLACE
AND HOLY GIFTS AND HEAUENLY GRACE
TOBIAS VAN ZANDT CLERK
CABEEL. FECIT

DUTCH CHURCH INSCRIPTION, 1769.

Communication with home was constant by the well appointed packets, and in almost every journal of the day notice may be found of "gentlemen intending for England," or of the return of some well-known traveler. New-York was therefore the natural choice for the meeting of the colonial committee.

It may be stated here that the colonies were as conscious of their power as of their rights. The white male population between sixteen and sixty years of age of the entire territory was estimated at the time at three hundred thousand: a force, when combined, quite sufficient for any and all purposes of defense against any enemy

Digitized by Google

from across the sea. The right of petition has always been jealously guarded as the dearest of popular rights; the right of complaint of the governed to the authorities who govern, no matter under what form. Hence the suppression of the petition from the New York and Massachusetts assemblies by the privy council of the king was looked upon as a serious outrage and a dangerous infringement of their rights. Such a thing would not have been attempted in case of a petition from Englishmen, and the colonists met the indignity with impatient alarm. They were not of a spirit to brook the idea of inferiority to the parent race.

THE NORTH DUTCH CHURCH, 1769.

At first the people seemed hardly to comprehend the gravity of the blow struck at their liberties.

John Morin Scott, in three masterly papers which appeared in "the licentious sheet" (Holt's "New York Gazette," the liberal organ), on June 9, 13 and 27, under the signature of "Freeman," startled the people to the consequence of non-resistance, against which Livingston had entered his warning ten years before. Bancroft seems uncertain as to the authorship of these letters of "Freeman." He agrees that Scott seems most likely to have written them. But Dawson has no hesitation in his ascription of them to Scott, though he gives no authority. Bancroft makes frequent quotations from their significant passages. "It is not the tax," said he, "it is the unconstitutional manner of imposing it, that is the great subject of uneasiness to the colonies." He charged that "the taxation of America is arbitrary and tyrannical, and what the Parliament of England had no right to impose;" and further, drawing his conclusions from his close premises, he says, "If then the interest of the Mother Country and her Colonies cannot be made to coincide, if the same Constitution may not take place in both, if the welfare of the Mother Country necessarily

Digitized by Google

requires a sacrifice of the most valuable natural rights of the Colonies: their right of making their own laws, regulating their own affairs and disposing of their property by representation of their own choosing—if such is really the case between Great Britain and her Colonies, then the connection between them ought to cease; and sooner or later it must inevitably cease. The English Government cannot long act towards a part of its dominions upon principles diametrically opposed to its own without losing itself in the slavery it would impose upon the Colonies or learning from to throw it off and assert their freedom. There never can be a disposition in the Colonies to break off their connection with the Mother Country so long as they are permitted to have the full enjoyment of those rights to which the English Constitution entitles them. . . . They desire no more; nor yet can they be satisfied with less." In his text Scott called this the "Land of Liberty." This bold assertion of the rights, this bold declaration of the intentions of the Americans, was "caught up," says Bancroft, by the impatient colonies, and formed part of the instruction of South Carolina to her agent in England.

And while the thoughtful were thus addressed through the press, the streets abounded in pamphlets and squibs, and the stamp act itself was hawked about as "The folly of England and the ruin of America."

As the summer waned the popular indignation waxed stronger. On the morning of August 14, two effigies were seen suspended from a branch of the Great Tree, one of the large elms on Hanover Square, in the town of Boston. One was labeled "Distributor of Stamps." After hanging all day they were toward evening cut down and carried in procession to a building newly erected and belonging to Mr. Oliver, the stamp officer for the Massachusetts province, which was sacked and destroyed. Mr. Oliver took the warning, and the next morning resigned his office. This example was followed in the other colonies. Ingersoll at New Haven engaged to reship the stamps or leave them to the disposal of the people. Later he was hanged in effigy, at Norwich. Johnston at Newport was burned in effigy and resigned. Coxe, in New Jersey, unable to hire an office, threw up his commission. Colden's letter to Sir William Johnson is authority for the action taken in New York. "Yesterday, August 30th, James McEvers (who had accepted the office of Distributor of Stamps and

Digitized by Google

Sir,

New York. 10th. August 1763.

As I am Fitting out some Transports for Immediate Service, & that the Carpenters Employed on them will not Venture to Work to morrow without a Licence from You; I should be glad you would give them Permission, as it is of real Consequence to the King's Service, that those Vessells are got Ready with the utmost Expedition.

I am,

Sir,

Your most Obed. Servant

Jeff: Amherst.

To John Cruger Esqr.
Mayor.
Jeff: Amherst

To John Cruger Esqr.
Mayor of the City of New York

Digitized by Google

entered into bonds) sent me his resignation of the office, being terrified by the sufferings and ill usage the Stamp Officer met with in Boston and the threats he has received at New York."

In September the idea of union took definite shape. A broadside entitled the "Constitutional Courant," secretly printed in New Jersey, was widely circulated in New-York, and later reprinted here and in Boston. It bore as a head-piece the device of a snake cut in parts to represent the colonies, with the motto "Unite or die," the familiar symbol used by Dr. Franklin in his "Pennsylvania Gazette," in 1754, to arouse the colonies to the danger of the French invasion. Copies of the "Courant" were handed about the streets of New-York by Lawrence Sweeney, an eccentric character, better known by his sobriquet of "Bloody News," from his familiar cry announcing the army news during the sanguinary French war. When asked by Colden where he obtained the paper, he humorously answered "From Peter Hasenkliver's iron works,* please your Honor." The next day the "Courant" took up the joke, and gravely announced that it was there printed. Colden sent a copy of it to Secretary Conway, and advised him that bundles of them had been delivered by James Parker, secretary to the general post-office in North America, by whom it was believed to have been printed, and that it had been distributed along the postroads of the post riders. Songs were written for the Sons of Liberty. The temper of the city was so high that even Colden wrote to the home government that he agreed with the gentlemen of the council that it was not a proper time to prosecute the printers and publishers of the seditious papers. Indeed, the attorney-general had told him that he did not think himself safe to command any such prosecution.

During this exciting period General Monckton remained in London, and was kept well informed of events as they happened on this side of the water. Like his companion at Quebec, Colonel Barré, he was not in favor of the oppressive measures. In time he formally resigned, and Sir Henry Moore was appointed to succeed him in the New-York government. Those acquainted with

* Peter Hasenkliver was an enterprising character about the middle of the eighteenth century. He established the iron works in East Jersey. The property is now owned and occupied by ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt.

Digitized by Google

Moore's character, public and private, were pleased with the appointment. He had served the crown as governor of Jamaica, and was knighted for his conduct in the suppression of an insurrection of the slaves in that island. As September drew to a close, Colden seems to have grown somewhat uneasy, and wrote to the new governor that nothing could give him more pleasure than his presence in the city. Watts describes him as terrified at the mobs which now ruled the town, and the fort as armed beyond what it had ever been before: "Howitzers on the curtains, cannon facing the gates and the Broadway, as if Montcalm was at King's Bridge." So full was Fort George that Colden wrote to Governor Franklin of Pennsylvania, who had asked a lodgment for the stamps for that province in the fort, that there was no place for them but in the governor's house, and recommended that they be put on one of the king's frigates in port. His own arrangements he thus describes: "I desired the Captains of His Majesty's Ships of War now in the river to protect the ship in which they should come. For this purpose a sloop was placed at Sandy Hook and a frigate midway between that and this place, while the Coventry lay before the town."

Early in the month news had reached the colonies of a change in the ministry. There was great rejoicing in Boston. The great elms venerated for their antiquity were decorated with the emblems of England, the colors embroidered with mottos; and, with cheers and military salutes, a copperplate on which was stamped in golden letters the legend, "The Tree of Liberty, August 14, 1765," was placed on the tree where the effigies had hung on that day. This appears to have been the first liberty tree, but the custom of stripping a tall tree of all but its topmost branches, beneath which the national standard waves, has not yet died out in the villages of the country.

The stamped paper now began to arrive; the first instalment, destined for New Hampshire, reached Boston early in September. A few days later a ship arrived in Boston with fourteen boxes, but was compelled to seek safety under the guns of the castle and in the guard of a sloop of war and a cutter. Those for Philadelphia arrived on October 5. The ship lay off Newcastle on the Delaware, under similar protection. As it rounded Gloucester Point the colors of the vessels in the harbors were lowered to half-mast, and the bells of the city were tolled. A mass-meeting was held, and

Digitized by Google

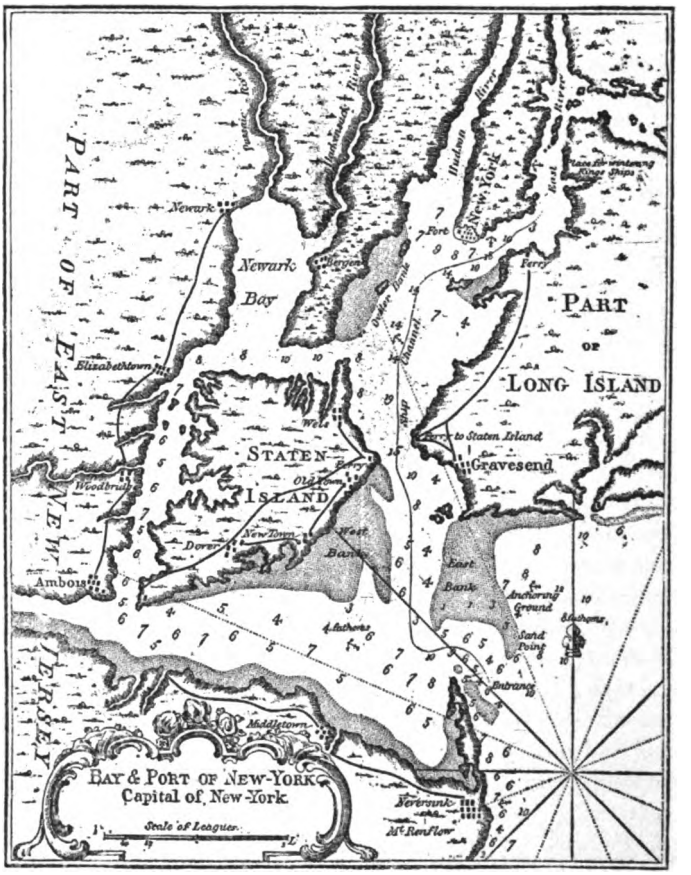
THE RATZER MAP
OF
NEW YORK CITY
1767.
EAST RIVER
HUDSONS RIVER
THE SOUND
Dyckman's
James Delancey Esq.
Arsenal
Bowling Green
Fresh Water
Common
Dutch Church
Exchange
Coffee House
Fly Market
Meal Market
Beekman's Slip
Burling Slip
Coenties Slip
Old Slip
Whitehall
Broadway
Queen St.
Duke St.
Dock St.
Hanover Square
Wall St.
Pearl St.
Water St.
Front St.
Smith St.
Gold St.
Maiden Lane
Cedar St.
Liberty St.
Nassau St.
Crown St.
Beaver St.
Broad St.
Exchange Alley
Hanover Alley
Stone St.
Pine St.
Cherry St.
Rutgers Farm
Rutgers Slip
Rutgers Street
Rutgers Mill
Rutgers Meadow
Rutgers Creek
Rutgers Swamp
Rutgers Hill
Rutgers Road
Rutgers Lane
Rutgers Bridge
Rutgers Ferry
Rutgers Ferry Road
Rutgers Ferry Slip
Rutgers Ferry House
Rutgers Ferry Boat
Rutgers Ferry Landing
Rutgers Ferry Wharf
Rutgers Ferry Dock
Rutgers Ferry Pier
Rutgers Ferry Slip
Rutgers Ferry Road
Rutgers Ferry Street
Rutgers Ferry Lane
Rutgers Ferry Bridge

Hughes, the stamp-master, compelled to engage that he would not execute the office.

The delegates to the congress—the "Stamp Act Congress," as it is known in history—began to arrive in New-York early in October. The first was the committee from South Carolina. When the question of its appointment came up in the assembly, says Ramsey, it was thus ridiculed by a humorous member: "If you agree to the proposition of composing a Congress of deputies from the different British Colonies, what kind of a dish will you make? New England will throw in fish and onions; the Middle States, flax-seed and flour; Maryland and Virginia will add tobacco; North Carolina, pitch, tar, and turpentine; South Carolina, rice and Indigo; and Georgia will sprinkle the whole composition with saw dust. Such an absurd jumble will you make if you attempt to form a union among such discordant materials as the thirteen British provinces." To which a country member retorted: "He would not choose the gentleman who made the objections for his cook, but, nevertheless, he would venture to assert that if the colonies proceeded judiciously in the appointment of deputies to a Continental Congress, they would prepare a dish fit to be presented to any crowned head in Europe." On Monday, October 7, the congress met in the City Hall. There were present delegates from nine colonies, viz.: Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Suffolk upon Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina. Of these only six were duly authorized committees appointed by the legislatures within the terms of the call. As the New-York assembly had not been in session for a long period, the committee of correspondence chosen at its last session was admitted to represent the province. These were John Cruger, Robert R. Livingston, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard —an able and fearless body. The South Carolina and Connecticut delegates were restricted in their action by their assemblies. Virginia and North Carolina were not represented; their assemblies having been prorogued by the governors. The Georgia assembly were enjoined by their governor from sending a committee. New Hampshire wrote that they were not in a position to send delegates. Among the twenty-eight members who appeared were many whose names were familiar throughout the colonies: Cruger and the

Digitized by Google

Livingstons of New-York, Otis of Massachusetts, Johnson of Connecticut, Dickinson of Pennsylvania, McKeon from Delaware, Gadsden and Rutledge from South Carolina—all historic names. Ruggles of Massachusetts, who had commanded a brigade in the



S. BELLIN'S RARE MAP OF 1764.

late French war, was chosen chairman. The sessions were secret, and the journal printed later is extremely meager in the details of their proceedings. It would seem that they named a committee to draft a declaration of rights and grievances, and then adjourned. They met finally on October 19, and, after mature deliberation, agreed on this document. The authorship of the declaration has been usually ascribed to John Cruger. It has also been claimed for

Digitized by Google

John Dickinson. It is an able and fearless paper, of which any one of the great men named might have been proud. Committees were then appointed—one to draft an address to the king ; another a memorial to the lords ; a third, a petition to the House of Commons. On the 21st, 22d, and 23d these addresses were adopted. On the 24th the colonies were requested to appoint special agents to solicit relief. When the business was completed, Ruggles, who had presided over the several meetings, refused to sign the petitions "as against his conscience." All the others, however, except Ogden of New Jersey, unhesitatingly subscribed their names. The congress, after engaging themselves not to make public their petitions until they were presented, adjourned on the afternoon of Friday, October 28. Meanwhile the people were in council as to some means of forcing the merchants of Great Britain to take up their quarrel or redress their wrongs.

The call appeared in the "Gazette" of October 31, and was addressed to the gentlemen merchants of the city. The meeting was called for four o'clock of the same afternoon. It was both large and enthusiastic. Resolutions were adopted and subscribed to by upward of two hundred of the principal merchants, as follows: 1st, to accompany all orders to Great Britain for goods or merchandise of any nature, kind, or quality whatever, with instructions that they be not shipped unless the stamp act be repealed ; 2d, to countermand all outstanding orders unless on the condition mentioned in the foregoing resolution ; 3d, not to vend any goods sent on commission and shipped after January 1 succeeding, unless upon the same condition. In consequence of these resolutions the retailers of goods signed a paper obliging themselves not to buy any goods, wares, or merchandise after January 1 unless the stamp act were repealed.

(To be concluded in next number.)

Digitized by Google

THE TUSCARORA CONSPIRACY IN CAROLINA.

How and why the Tuscarora Indians came to be in North Carolina is a mystery. The whole story of their separation from the northern Iroquois will never be known. Their records are silent. Even tradition, that great preserver of knowledge, tells so little that we may safely conclude that it was from natural causes. Probably it was simply a question of an advantageous location. Our early settlers, when they pushed down from Virginia into the unexplored wilderness, found them settled on the Roanoke, the Pamplico, the Neuse, and the country between. Their language differs so much from that of the other branches of the family, that the separation must have taken place several centuries before the discovery of America.* Of their stay in Carolina, their great conspiracy in 1711, their disastrous defeat, and finally, their removal to the north, much has been written. However, so much is untrustworthy that it is only possible to pick from the mingled heap what is most strongly supported.

The tribe belonged to the great Huron-Iroquois family. It was not of the same stock as the rest of the Carolina Indians. They stood like a little island in an ocean of enemies, and were able not only to repel all attacks, but also to extend their territory. Two hundred and seventy-two tribal organizations have been found to exist, or to have existed, within the present limits of the United States. All of these east of the Mississippi may be classified into eight great families. The Tuscaroras were of the same family as the celebrated Five Nations of New York. This Iroquois Confederacy, as it was called, occupied the territory stretching from Vermont to the head of the Ohio, and included that south of Lake Erie and Ontario. It is believed that they originally lived north of the St. Lawrence, but were driven southward by the Adirondacks, assisted by the French.† From this circumstance arose their never ending dislike toward that nation; and on account of this dislike they refused to follow them in the French and Indian War. These five nations were the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas,

* This is the belief of General Horatio Hale, of Clinton, Ontario, author of "Iroquois Rites," and also of General John S. Clark.

† Thatcher, Vol. II, p. 35.

Digitized by Google

the Senecas; and they were as different in qualities of mind from those around them as though of another race. Their reputation as warriors was so great that it is said the appearance of a Mohawk on one side, when two hostile tribes were contending, drove the other in headlong flight.* They made much headway against the surrounding Algonquins, and sent war parties far and near. The Senecas had a post even so distant as Fort Hill, South Carolina, since noted as the residence of John C. Calhoun. Their little bands often came down to surprise the unwary Cherokees. They drove the Eries, or Erigas, away from their home, and so effectually banished them that no trace of that tribe remains.

Though strong in war it was in civil affairs that their peculiar genius showed itself. These five nations were bound together in a confederation for years before the American colonies thought of union. This confederacy is the one instance of a successful organized government among savages.† It stood as an example to the colonists which might well have been followed earlier. Their union resembled the confederation adopted by the colonies in 1781, and has also been compared to the Amphictyonic Council of the Greeks. Each tribe preserved all its local institutions, but sent delegates to the Council, which had general powers. Each warrior had a right to aspire to any office, and when chosen served faithfully without pay. They understood the principle that the whole is stronger than any of its parts. Cannassatego, one of their chiefs, advised the whites to form some sort of union, in 1744, when he met the Commissioners of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, at Lancaster,‡ but it took much humiliation to make Americans comprehend that in union there is strength.

Chateaubriand called them the "Romans of the West," and well they deserved the title. With Roman virtues, they had the Roman vices; with Roman bravery, more than Roman cruelty; with Roman fortitude, Roman contempt for the conquered. Their eloquence was noted by the early explorers. The Frenchman, Charlevoix, said: "* * * Their harangues are full of shining passages which would have been applauded at Rome and Athens."

Such were the Five Nations of New York; and their Tuscarora brethren had their qualities, both good and evil. The great Tus-

* Schoolcraft, Vol. III, p. 185. † McKenney and Hall, Vol. III, p. 17.

‡ Schoolcraft, Vol. III, p. 183.

Digitized by Google

carora massacre of 1711, and the war following, was an earnest effort for self-preservation. They had seen the weaker Meherrins and Nottoways made homeless vagabonds, and while they felt that they would hold their own against the surrounding Indians, yet they foresaw their ultimate destruction at the hands of the whites if their settlements were allowed to increase. Absolute extermination was decreed.

Northern Carolina was then ruled from Charleston through a deputy governor. The population, though small, was varied. The first settlers were Virginians seeking rich lands and freedom from taxation. These settled principally upon Albemarle Sound, and some few ventured down upon Pamplico. A small number of French Huguenots went upon Pamplico and Neuse. The Pamplico Indians had been so reduced in numbers and so broken in spirit by an epidemic of small-pox, that they did not resent the intrusion of settlers. There was a considerable addition to the population of the lower part of the colony in 1710, when about one thousand German Palatines and Swiss came over. These Palatines were fugitives from religious persecution, who had fled to England on the invitation of Queen Anne. There they were dependent upon the public bounty until they were scattered through the various colonies. Christopher de Graffenried, an impoverished Swiss officer, and Louis Michel, a needy adventurer, desired to settle colonies in "English America." They bought ten thousand acres of land from the Lords Proprietors, with an option on one hundred thousand. A contract to carry over six hundred and fifty of these "poore Palatines," and to settle each family upon a farm was made with the commissioners, acting for the Queen.* They brought over as many more Swiss also. Many of the Palatines perished on the way from sea sickness, and the helpless colony, through the duplicity of Surveyor-General, John Lawson, instead of being assigned separate farms, was huddled together like a flock of sheep, at the confluence of the Neuse and the Trent.† This was the foundation of the present city of Newbern.

The proprietors had received little compensation for their trouble with the province of Carolina. The people would not be governed like the submissive inhabitants of Europe. They refused to obey good governors and bad governors alike; they refused to pay even the most reasonable taxes, and looked with scorn upon the

* Colonial Records, Vol. 1, p. 986.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 910.

Digitized by Google

attempts of the proprietors to impose upon them a scheme of government perfect according to European ideas. If necessary they used force to drive away a governor who attempted to follow his instructions too closely. Even one of the proprietors fared better than the rest.* In all their quarrels, however, it had been the colony against the representative of foreign authority. Now began a civil war which weakened the colony in the face of the coming conflict.

Briefly, the circumstances are as follows. The ascension of Queen Anne in 1704 made new oaths† of allegiance necessary for all officers, in order to carry out the provisions of an act of Parliament. The Albemarle Quakers refused to take these, and had influence enough to have Deputy Governor Daniel removed. Colonel Thomas Carey was then appointed, but he, too, required the new oaths. By the influence of John Porter, their agent in England, and John Archdale, the Quaker proprietor, he was removed, and permission given to the council to elect a president. William Glover was selected, but when he too proved obstinate in respect to the oaths, Carey was again selected by a part of the council. It was agreed to submit the matter to the members of the Assembly, and this body decided in favor of Carey.‡ Glover refused to submit to the decision, and there was no government in Albemarle for nearly three years. Another claimant for the empty honor appeared in 1710, when Edward Hyde came over, but without a commission. Governor Tynte had died and there was no official proof of his claim to be deputy governor. Nevertheless the council believed his story and elected him president until his commission should arrive. Glover submitted in good faith. Carey first submitted, but afterwards took up arms. This revolt, if it was a revolt, was quelled by the aid of Governor Alexander Spotswood, of Virginia, one of the best colonial governors then in America.

Though the outward signs of revolution were obliterated, yet the spirit of faction and division remained. The Assembly was divided. The body refused to levy necessary taxes, "hoping by their frugality to commend themselves to their constituents." This was the condition of the colony when the fury of Indian warfare broke loose.

* Seth Southwell (Sothel) who may be classed as a bad governor. He took charge 1689.

† It is claimed by some students of history that these oaths were not simple declarations of allegiance, but partook of the nature of the hated Test Oath; this is not proven.

‡ 1708 Colonial Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes.

Digitized by Google

There were signs of trouble, however, that might have well been noted. The historians of North Carolina have written as if the relations between the colonists and the Indians had been ideally friendly up to this time. Recent researches discredit this, for there was a serious invasion of "enemy Indians" in Albemarle as early as 1616, and this phrase is often used:* "Human nature and Indian nature were much the same in Carolina and in Massachusetts."

There is evidence that the attack had been long contemplated. The immediate causes of the outbreak may be stated as follows: (1.) The forced removal from their burying and hunting grounds. (2.) Ill-treatment by a few lawless white men. (3.) Jealousy of the growing power of the whites. (4.) Divisions among settlers making a favorable opportunity. Gov. Hyde and all connected with him, declared repeatedly that Carey was responsible for the attack; that his agents worked among the Tuscaroras, trying to provoke them to the massacre; that he desired to ruin the country, he was not allowed to rule.† This must be taken with much allowance, since there was little charity for enemies in those stirring times. But if not responsible directly for this contest, Carey must still be held as responsible indirectly; for, if the colony had not been so divided by his rebellion, the war would have more easily ended, if ever begun.

In the latter part of the summer of 1711 a circumstance happened which might have warned the settlers. Surveyor-General John Lawson prevailed upon de Graffenried to accompany him on a exploring expedition up the Neuse. At the end of the second day they were suddenly surrounded, deprived of all their effects, and made to march all night until they reached Cotethna, the village of King Hencock, or Handcock. The council of the Forty Elders tried them and decided that they should be liberated. Unfortunately Lawson began to quarrel violently with a petty chief. The Council of war then passed upon the case and sentenced them to death. de Graffenried escaped by claiming to be king of the inoffensive settlement on the Neuse. Lawson was obnoxious to them on account of his official position, and was secretly executed. De Graffenried was held as a prisoner for five weeks, and then released upon making a treaty.‡ By this treaty he bound himself to be neutral in all con-

* Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes, XIV.

† Colonial Records, Vols. I & II. Letters of Hyde, Spotswood, Pollock, etc.

‡ Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 35.

Digitized by Google

tests between English and Indians, and in return all houses on which the great N (Neuse) was placed were to be spared.

While de Graffenried was still a prisoner the plot for the destruction of the whites was completed, and the first blow fell. Since they had slain an officer of the province the Tuscaroras felt that there could be no drawing back. Only eight of their fifteen villages were openly engaged in the plot, but the others assisted secretly.* The day before the new moon in September, was appointed for action. The Tuscaroras were to ravage the country between the Roanoke and the Pamplico. The Cotechneys and the Cores were to do the bloody work on the Neuse and the Trent. The Mattemiskeets and Matchapungas had entrusted to them the destruction of the inhabitants around Bath. The Tuscaroras and Meherrins, with such other help as they could gather, were to complete the slaughter north of Albemarle Sound.

The plans were laid carefully and executed silently. All fire arms were left behind. The rising of the sun on the 22d of September was the signal over the whole colony. Within two hours one hundred and thirty persons were killed. No one was spared. The young man and the maiden, the aged and the infant, each alike was inhumanly butchered. The most horrible cruelties were practised. Women were laid upon the ground and great stakes driven through their bodies, and their infants were hung upon trees for the buzzards and the crows. Crazed by the New England rum found in the cabins, the savages staggered through the woods, hooting and yelling, pursuing the fugitives for miles. The extent of territory was so great that it was impossible to strike all at once, but to such an extent was the spirit of distrust and disunion spread among the settlers, that in many cases instead of fleeing to some central point and making a united resistance, each man tried to defend his own house. Disaster overtook most of these, and the home furnished the flame by whose light the unfortunate owner was slain. For three days this awful pursuit continued, and closed only when drunkenness and fatigue compelled. Then, sated with slaughter, the conquerors returned to one of the principal towns of the Tuscaroras which had been fortified with a palisade, there to make new plans for the complete destruction of the white settlers.

Though Governor Hyde immediately called for soldiers, very few responded. The province had been so long without any law,

* Letters of Gov. Spotswood.

Digitized by Google

but that of the strongest, that the authority of the ruler was much weakened. The condition of the colony was a gloomy one. An Indian war greater than ever before was upon it; a debt of several thousand pounds hung over it; the people were so divided that even the greatness of the danger could not make them forget their animosities. Certain persons not only refused to go themselves against the enemy, but even hid their arms. There were in all hardly over 2,000 "fencible" men in the province, and the Quaker population refused to bear arms. It was seen at once that aid must be secured from the sister provinces. Virginia did nothing more the first year than to keep the neutral Tuscaroras and some small tribes from going boldly over to the hostiles. In addition to the above, however, she did make an appropriation for equipping troops, but as security for repayment, a mortgage on the land claimed by both colonies was demanded, which Governor Hyde had no authority to grant. Governor Spotswood also claimed that the Carolinians not only did not intend to feed his troops, but expected to charge ten per cent. duty on all provisions they should carry with them. Southern Carolina came promptly to the rescue, as was its duty, without asking security, though a petition was sent to the Proprietors asking repayment. Money and men were voted, and the chief command was given to John Barnwell, an experienced soldier. His forces consisted of a few white men and several hundred Yemassee Indians. He marched with great speed and effected a junction with that part of the militia which could be spared from the north, near the German settlement. The Indians had fortified a fort on the Neuse within the present county of Craven, about eighteen miles from Newbern. Having received re-enforcements, they marched out to meet Barnwell, and were disastrously defeated. In addition to the great number killed, more than a hundred prisoners were taken and afterwards sold as slaves. The remainder retreated into the fort, which was at once surrounded by Barnwell. Very shortly they sued for peace, which was immediately granted.

The officers of North Carolina expressed in severe terms their disapproval of Barnwell's thus "clapping up a peace," * and attributed the action to all sorts of motives. They complained first, that he allowed the Indians to escape when they were in his power, and when their destruction would have ended the war; and secondly, that having made peace, he afterwards allowed his Indian allies to

* Colonial Records, Vol. I. Letters of Spotswood, Hyde, Pollock, etc.

Digitized by Google

capture several hundred prisoners, which act renewed the war. A commission was even sent to Charleston to make complaint. These officers, however, were prejudiced. Barnwell had accomplished what they themselves were unable to do. He was the representative of higher authority, for Hyde did not receive his commission as "Governor of that part of Carolina North and East of the Cape Feare," until May, 1712.

Barnwell gives the reasons for the treaty in a letter. He was without provisions, for the province had culpably neglected to do its duty in the matter. He himself had been wounded, and needed better medical attention than the "Chyrurgeon" accompanying the expedition could give. On occasion of their first victory the most of his Indians had deserted and gone home to sell their prisoners and to mourn the departed. De Graffenried says that the fort was full of white captives who cried out that they would all be murdered if an attack was made.* Local tradition corroborates this, and the memory of General Barnwell is held in great respect in the neighborhood. In regard to the second charge, it may be made against every officer who has ever commanded Indians. Not one has ever been able to control them after a victory. These explanations seem to vindicate Barnwell from all charges of double-dealing. His countrymen did not doubt his honesty of purpose, as he afterwards filled many places of honor and trust.

As has been said, war was at one renewed in spite of the treaty. The Assembly met in March, 1712, but took no effective action. It is true, an act was passed that every man should pay five pounds or go to the war, but the people simply did neither. The forces were so small that when a fort named in honor of the governor was built on Core Sound, a garrison of thirty men was all that could be spared, and to ten men was intrusted the defense of the Pamplico at Fort Reading.† De Graffenried kept his treaty through necessity. The inhabitants of the upper part of the province refused to furnish him with provisions or ammunition, and then reviled him because he remained neutral. To have trusted in his own strength would have been madness, and his neutrality was of much benefit to the colony, as he was enabled to communicate any plan laid by the enemy, though with danger to himself. There was great fear that the Iroquois were coming down to join in the war. The Secretary

* Colonial Records, Vol. I, p. 955.

† Colonial Records.

Digitized by Google

of the Province of New-York wrote that agents had been at work among the Senecas, and it was feared had succeeded.*

Aid was again asked from Virginia and South Carolina. Governor Spotswood secured an appropriation of 3,500 pounds sterling, and 600 for clothing. This was reduced to 1,000 and 180 for clothing, but even of this small amount, hardly 500 was ever expended. South Carolina voted 1,000 Indians and 50 white men. In the meantime, to contribute to the further distress of the colony, the dread scourge of yellow fever broke out, and among the victims was the Governor himself. Colonel Thomas Pollock was immediately chosen president of the council. He is a man of more ability and popularity than Hyde, and during his administration the situation grew brighter. At the time of his election there were hardly 150 men under arms.

While awaiting the arrival of the forces from South Carolina, Tom Blunt, a chief of the Tuscaroras who had remained neutral, came to Colonel Pollock, asking for a treaty of friendship. This the president refused to grant unless he should bring in Hencock and six others prominent in the war. Blunt promised to do this and asked ammunition to effect it. Colonel Pollock refused to grant the request unless he should send twelve hostages. The wily chief promised this also, but took care not to do it. At first he pretended to be unable to capture Hencock, but being awed by the approach of the South Carolina forces, found that he could easily accomplish it. When that arch-conspirator was brought he was at once executed. A treaty binding Blunt to assist the whites was barely concluded when the forces arrived. These consisted of about 850 Indians from the Ashley river, and 33 white men, all commanded by Colonel James Moore.†

No supply of provisions had been sent to Bath and it was necessary to march them into Albemarle. Colonel Pollock waited several months for Blunt to do what he had promised. During this time the burden of the support of these hungry men fell on Albemarle. This country was much distressed. It had had to supply the whole of the province with corn for two years, and now when this additional tax was laid upon it the inhabitants declared that they would rather be invaded by "enemy Indians" than by friendly. It was with difficulty that the people could be restrained from turning their arms against these Indians instead of their foes. The South Carolina savages were

* Colonial Records.

† Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 13.

Digitized by Google

insolent and overbearing, and it was hard for the Albemarle settlers to see their last corn and meat devoured by these hungry men.

Blunt having failed to do what he had promised by the appointed time, the war began about the middle of January, 1713. A fall of snow delayed the forces at Fort Reading for some time, and it was not until March 20th that Fort Nohucke, or Nohoroco, to which the Indians had retreated upon the approach of Colonel Moore, was invested. The water supply was cut off, and on the morning of the 23d the post was captured. This was near Snow Hill, the present county seat of Greene. The story of the killed and wounded may best be told in Colonel Moore's own words, remembering only that he fought better than he spelled. "Ye 20th of this instant, I attack No-ho-ro-co fort on C— Creek and ye 23rd in ye morning took itt, with ye loss of 22 whit men killed and 24 more wond'd—35 Indians killed and 58 wond'd * * * Ye Qnt. of ye enemies Destroyed is as follows—Prisoners 392 Scalps 192 out of ye sd: fort—& att Least 200 Kill'd and Burnt in ye fort—& 166 Kill'd and taken out of ye fort on ye Scout, which is all."*

This broke the power of the Tuscaroras in North Carolina. They had but few warriors engaged against Barnwell, and so suffered but little, but this was a reverse from which they could not recover. All who had not gone into this fort fled further inland to another fort, Cohunke. Moore was in no position to follow up his success. His Indian allies had followed the custom before mentioned, that is to gather as many slaves as possible and to return home. Hardly two hundred men remained with him. Virginia refuse to make any further appropriation either of money or men, and Governor Spotswood and Council advised that peace be made, and that Tom Blunt be bribed with promise of dominion over the whole Tuscarora nation. Governor Craven had written that South Carolina could not send over three hundred more Indians, and when these did come they were sent back on account of lack of provisions. The public stores iu Albemarle consisted of eight hundred bushels of corn and thirty-two barrels of meat, which was of course not sufficient to maintain a large force. There was no produce to sell to the trading vessels from New England, and hence there was no money. The Council had issued first £4,000 and then £8,000 in "bills of credit," but they soon depreciated. This was the first money ever issued by

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, p. 27.

Digitized by Google

North Carolina. The debt was large and increasing. On account of all these reasons the undaunted old President was constrained to make peace, recognizing Tom Blunt as king of all the Indians south of the Pamplico. Blunt bound himself to live peaceably with the settlers; to deliver all stolen goods; to make war against the smaller tribes; to capture and give up twenty of the leaders; and to give hostages for the faithful performance of these promises.* The province was not in a position to demand harsher terms, for in addition to its weakness, the rumors of approaching aid from the five nations began to grow more frequent. A small party of Mohawks attacked some traders in Virginia, and this was taken as a forerunner of a larger force.†

This peace practically ended the war. Scattering bands of hostiles hid in the swamps, and sallied out to attack the careless traveler, but there was no further organized resistance. With the downfall of the Tuscaroras the backbone of the great conspiracy was broken. At the beginning of the war they had twelve hundred warriors, and all the other tribes combined did not have over eight hundred. Colonel Moore first conquered the remnant of the Matchapungas, and drove them into the recesses of the Great Dismal Swamp. Then he turned upon the Cores and dispersed them near the present town of Beaufort. Having done all that was practicable he next returned to South Carolina, followed by the thanks of the whole people.

Tom Blunt and those immediately subject to him kept all his promises and were true to the whites, but all who had joined in the conspiracy, and many who had not, refused to submit to his authority. Runners passed between them and their northern kinsmen, and an invitation to come to them was accepted. In June 1713, the northward march was begun. They were granted full enjoyment of all privileges belonging to the Confederation, and became the sixth member. In a Council of the Five Nations held in September, 1714, the following words were used: "We acquaint you that the Tuscarora Indians are come to shelter themselves among the Five Nations. They were of us, and went from us long ago, and are now returned and promise to live peaceably among us." ‡

The moving of the disturbing element from the province gave peace, but it was the peace of exhaustion. The suspension of agri-

* Colonial Records, Vol. II, pp. 48 et. seq. † Letters of Governor Spotswood.

‡ General Chas. W. Darling, Cor. Sec. Oneida Hist. Soc. Utica, N. Y.

Digitized by Google

culture had suspended trade as well. The debt had increased so much that President Pollock was in despair. To pay this debt it was found necessary to levy taxes upon real estate as well as upon the poll, which had borne the whole burden heretofore. It was found necessary to issue £24,000 additional in bills of credit. Though coin was so difficult to procure, yet during all the trouble of the previous years, the Proprietors had been grasping enough to demand payment of Quit Rents in silver.† This had made the situation still worse, for many owed rents for three years. The population had been much reduced. What was the exact number killed by the Indians cannot be ascertained, for many who were reported killed had simply fled to Virginia to escape the horrors of the war. The blighting effect of the contest was felt in trade and immigration for many years. Though there has never been another serious Indian war in North Carolina, still the dread inspired by this kept out many settlers and much capital. Not until the second administration of Governor Burrington, twenty years later, did the colony attain to its former prosperity.

HOLLAND M. THOMPSON.

† Colonial Records, Vol. I, Prefatory Notes.

Digitized by Google

SAMUEL GORTON.*—II.

John Wickes was sentenced to be confined in Ipswich on similar conditions. Randall Holden to be confined in Salem. Robert Potter in Rowley. Richard Carder in Roxbury. Francis Weston in Dorchester, John Warner in Boston. William Waddell was to be confined in Watertown, during the pleasure of the Court, and if he escaped to be punished as the General Court or the Court of Assistants should think meet. Richard Waterman was to be dismissed for the time but what of his had been taken to go towards the payment of the charge and the rest of his estate to stand bound in £100, that he shall appear at the General Court, the 3rd month, and not to depart without license, and to submit to the order of the Court. Nicholas Power, appearing and denying that he set his hand to the first book, was dismissed with an admonition. This sentence was not agreed upon with unanimity in the Court. These prisoners remained in the towns in which it was assigned for them to work out their sentences, until the 7th of the following March, when they were liberated on condition they leave the colony of Massachusetts and not be found in it or in the Colony's possessions thereafter, on pain of death.

The first vote propounded to the Court while considering the sentence of the prisoners, was whether they should be put to death? This was decided against the death penalty by two majority. Pending the trial, four questions were propounded to Gorton, under the direction of the Court, which he was directed to answer in writing. These questions were probably suggested by the Court, after refusing the death penalty, and were expected to demonstrate the fallacy of his religious belief.

The questions were : 1st. Whether the fathers, who died before Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered, after his incarnation?

2nd. Whether the only price of our redemption was not the death of Christ upon the Cross, with the rest of his sufferings, and obedience in the time of his life after his said birth?

* Concluded from November, 1893.

Digitized by Google

3rd. Who is the God, whom he thinks we love?

4th. What he means when he saith : We worship the star of our God Rempham Chion, Moloch ?

Gorton answered these interrogations, and when the answers were read in Court, Governor Winthrop replied, "that we are one with you in these answers." Some of the Court, disappointed by the answers, proposed to further interrogate Gorton, but Bradstreet protested against this, while Gorton was on trial, and against any further attempt at obtaining evidence, which Gorton did not voluntarily give.

Johnston (one of the Commissioners that went to Warwick after Gorton and his friends) had already, in his "Wonder Working Providence," said of Gorton, in Gorton's worst style, that Gorton denied the humanity of Christ. This claim Gorton emphatically contradicted, and as emphatically contradicted most of the other dogmas attributed to him. He was accused of opposing all civil government. This accusation he explained and limited by saying, that he was opposed to all civil government under the State of England, not founded upon the authority of England; and his entire conduct during life demonstrated the sincerity of his claim ; for after the Charter was obtained for Rhode Island, he was as obedient to the laws, as he had been disobedient to them before the Charter.

Governor Winthrop charges these Warwick men with being "illiterate;" nevertheless, if the question had been proposed to him, he might possibly have conceded that Gorton & Holden, in their correspondence with Massachusetts authorities, showed considerable fertility of imagination, and posterity, by its unanimous voice, must concede that Governor Winthrop and his associates in the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1643, were lamentably ignorant of the principles of human liberty, of the rights of men and of the virtue of Christian charity, or it will have to attribute to their conduct a character beside which illiteracy has no place.

At the next Court, the prisoners were all sent away, because the Court found that they did mislead some of the people, especially the women. "About a week after," says Winthrop, "we sent men to fetch so many of their cattle as might defray our charges, both of the soldiers and of the Court, which spent many days about them, and for their expenses in prison. It came to in all about £160."

Upon his liberation, Gorton having, as he supposed, fourteen days within which to leave Massachusetts, went into Boston, to await

Digitized by Google

the arrival of his associates, who had to come from more distant towns, but Governor Winthrop ordered his immediate removal from the colony.

Gorton and his associates now had to go to Rhode Island, from which he, with Holden, Potter, Wilks and Carder, had been sent away two years and a-half before—there they appear to have been well received, given lands to improve, and were re-united to their families.

The first charter had already been obtained, and though Warwick was embraced within its provisions, Massachusetts would not release its hold upon that territory, though the territory had been granted by the Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, and also by Pomham, to these settlers, before the latter attempted to submit it to Massachusetts.

Samuel Gorton, John Greene and Randall Holden, in 1644, armed with the deed of submission to England, of the Narragansetts, went to England; and on the 13th of May, 1648, they appeared in Boston harbor from England, bringing with them the following order from the Governor-in-Chief, Lord High Admiral, and Commissioner appointed by Parliament, for the English plantations of America: "Whereas, we have thought fit to give an order for Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Randall Holden, Mr. John Greene and others, late inhabitants of a tract of land, called the Narragansetts Bay, near the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, to return with freedom to the said tract of land, and there to inhabit and abide without interruption; these are therefore to pray and require you and all others, whom this may concern, to permit and suffer the said Samuel Gorton, etc., with their company, goods and necessaries, carried with them out of England, to land at any port in New England, when the ship wherein they do embark themselves shall arrive, and from thence to pass, without any of your lets or molestations, through any part of the continent of America, within your jurisdiction, to the said tract of land called Narragansett Bay, or any part thereof, they carrying themselves without offence, and paying, according to the custom of the country and their contract, for all things they shall make use of in their way of victuals, carriages and other accommodations. Hereof fail not, and this shall be your warrant. Dated at Westminster, May 15, 1646."

This was directed to the Governor and assistants of Massachusetts, and signed by the Commissioner of Plantations.

Digitized by Google

Winthrop says: "That this order was obtained partly for private respects and partly for their adhering to some of the corrupt tenets, and generally for their dislike of us for our late law—for banishing anabaptists—they seemed to be much offended with us for our religious proceedings (as they called it) against them, and thereupon, without sending us to hear an answer, etc., they gave them this order."

As Gorton and his associates, who five years before escaped a sentence of death for heresy by only two votes of the deputies, over the unanimous judgment of the magistrates and ministers, appeared before the Governor, assistants and ministers, as they were dissolving their synod, and presented this letter-missive, they must have suggested a picture worthy of the pencil of the best artist. Winthrop copied this missive and recorded it in his history. In his comments upon the paper, there is apparent a tinge of conscience; for soon after, upon his death-bed, when asked to sign an order against another heretic, he is reported to have replied, saying: "I have done too much of that business already."

June 15, 1645, Cromwell and his forces won the decisive battle of Naseby, and he soon after returned to London, the "uncrowned king" of the British empire. On the 7th of October of that year it was ordered by the General Court of Massachusetts that Richard Saltonstall, Capt. George Cook (who had taken Gorton and his adherents from Warwick) should be joined with Mr. Pocock and other commissioners in England in negotiating for us (Mass.) before the Right Honorable the Earl of Warwick and the rest of the Commissioners for the Plantations, etc., or before the high Court of Parliament if occasions require, concerning the two late grants or charters for the government or the jurisdiction of lands adjoining to Narragansett Bay. Capt. Cook, at that time, was about to leave Massachusetts, to join Cromwell's army, which he afterwards did join, and as a colonel therein, met his death in the campaign in Ireland, in 1652.

Massachusetts must have known of the Rhode Island charter of March 17, 1643–4; yet its General Court served a notice on Roger Williams, dated October 7th, 1645, that it had obtained a charter and grant of the entire territory, including the island of Quinday (Rhode Island), dated December 10, 1643, and cited Williams and his neighbors to appear before the General Court of Massachusetts to exhibit there any claim which they might pretend to the territory.

Digitized by Google

This pretended charter of Massachusetts never had any valid existence; for though drawn in form, it was never sanctioned by a majority of the Commissioners.

At this meeting of the Court of Massachusetts there was granted to certain inhabitants of Braintree leave to go and inhabit the territory of Gorton, but they were not to take up exceeding 10,000 acres, and were to build ten houses in twelve months.

Massachusetts, in reply to the charges of Gorton, Holden and Greene, under date of November 4, 1646, justified the forcible seizure of Gorton and his adherents. "Our Charter, as we conceive, gave us full power to deal with them (Gorton, etc,) as enemies, by force of arms, they being in such place, where we could have no right from them by civil justice."

In 1650, the Massachusetts General Court notified Rhode Island not to proceed by actions at law against William Arnold, William Carpenter, Robert Cole and their associates at Shawomet, and the next year it notified Roger Williams that the Colony must not levy taxes upon these people. Arnold and three others had offered their submission to Massachusetts, October 7, 1642. Winthrop says: "They received them, partly to draw in the rest from those parts, and the place would be of use, if we had occasion to send out against the Indians, and likewise would give an outlet to Narragansett Bay, and as it would be no charge to us, we thought it not wise to let it slip."

The trial of Gorton and his associates was commenced October 17, 1643, and his sentence was not imposed until November 3rd, seventeen days later.

The Warwick settlers were not permitted to enjoy their homes in Warwick after their return. After Gorton and Holden came from England the Indians about them (as was alleged, instigated by Massachusetts officials and probably also by some of their own people who had formally subjected themselves and their lands to Massachusetts), were very insulting and annoying, entering their houses and ransacking them when the male members of the households were absent—killing their sheep, hogs and cattle, destroying their fences, and doing other things to make their lives exceedingly uncomfortable.

This conduct brought out a very earnest, energetic and pathetic appeal from Roger Williams, made in behalf of the Rhode Island Colony to Massachusetts, to aid in suppressing the then existing

Digitized by Google

troubles to which these settlers were subjected. It is the second appeal of the then President of the Rhode Island Colony, to which reference is made. After having long waited for an answer to his first letter, he says: "That his request is for their favorable consideration of the long and lamentable condition of the town of Warwick, which has been thus troubled. They are so dangerously and so vexatiously intermingled with the barbarians, that I have long admired the wonderful power of God, in restraining and preventing very great fires of mutual slaughter breaking forth between them. You know the inhuman insultations of these wild creatures, and you may be pleased also to imagine that they have not been sparing of *your* name, as the patron of all their wickedness against our English men, women and children and cattle. * * * The remedy, under God, is only in your pleasure that Pomham shall come to an agreement with the town or colony, and that some convenient way and time be set for their removal; and that your wisdoms may see just grounds for such. Your wisdoms, be pleased to be informed of a reality of a solemn covenant between Warwick and Pomham, with which, notwithstanding he pleads his being drawn to it by the awe of the superior Sachems, yet I humbly offer, that what was done was according to the laws and tenor of the natives. I take it in all New England and America, that the inferior Sachems and subjects shall plant and remove at the pleasure of the highest and Supreme Sachem, and I humbly conceive, that it pleasest the Most High and Only Wise to make use of such a bond of authority over them, without which they could not long subsist in human society, in the wild condition wherein they are. Please you not to be insensible to the slippery and dangerous condition of this their intermingled cohabitation. I am humbly confident that all the English towns and plantations in New England, put together, suffer not such molestation from the natives as this one town and people. It is so great and so oppressive that I have daily feared the tidings of some public fire and mischief." This letter refers to the abandoned lives and the great vices practiced by these Indians in their drunken orgies, and makes the strongest possible appeal to Massachusetts to interpose its good offices for their removal. Williams had strong claims upon Massachusetts, arising out of their relation with the Narragansetts. Before this, in 1644, Gorton quotes a letter, signed J. W. (either John Wickes or John Warner probably), which narrates something which transpired while Gorton was in England, in 1644.

Digitized by Google

Captain Harding, of Rhode Island, was employed by the Massachusetts Court, to go with Samuel Wilbur, also of Rhode Island, taking with them Benedict Arnold as interpreter, to the Narragansetts. Arnold thought the experiment too hazardous, as the Indians were excited and desperate, but Harding and Wilbur procured Roger Williams to go with them to the Indians, and to persuade the chiefs to go to Boston, to confer with the Massachusetts authorities, hoping thereby to avert an impending war. Williams gave himself as a hostage to the tribe for the safe conduct and return of their chiefs. The chiefs went and the war was averted; but this act of Williams, though attended with beneficial results, created much dissatisfaction in Boston. This writer goes on to say: "The news coming into the Bay did so vex the ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that it being so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one cast out of Church, it was all one as to ask the counsel of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die. Upon which Master Wilbur was ready to die, for fear he should be hanged."

So the Indians went down, and they compelled them to cease war upon *Uncas*, and to agree to pay them £50, for charges for the Court, and for provisions for soldiers.

Thus it appears that Williams' efforts to serve Massachusetts, however well intended, were little appreciated. This occurrence, it should be remembered, happened seven years after his great service to that Colony in the *Pequot war*.

The Massachusetts Court neglected the appeal of Williams and awaited the "staying of their hands," until compelled to do so in answer to an appeal from Warwick to the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, received by them March, 1657–8.

The Commissioners informed the Colony of Massachusetts of the reception of the petition from the settlers of Warwick, and sent them a copy of the petition. In the Commissioners' notice they say, they would not act upon so weighty a matter finally, without affording that Colony an opportunity to be heard. Yet as the prayer of the petition was for future security, rather than redress for past grievances, the Commissioners required the Massachusetts Colony to permit the Warwick settlers to join their families upon the territory, and to allow them freely and quietly to live upon and plant the Shawomet lands, within the bounds of the Rhode Island Charter, on which they formerly lived and planted, without the Massachusetts

Digitized by Google

Colony extending any jurisdiction over them, until the further order of the Commissioners thereon. This order, for it was an order, contained the other provision, that Gorton, Holden and Greene should have liberty to pass and repass through Massachusetts territory, they demeaning themselves civilly, notwithstanding any previous order of banishment from that territory.

William Arnold had entertained and furnished supplies to the Massachusetts soldiers while they were in Warwick. A considerable number of the cattle of Gorton and his friends, seized by the soldiers, were turned over to Arnold, in payment of his claim. Now, when Arnold was within the jurisdiction of Rhode Island, and Gorton and his friends were settled upon their old plantations, they sued Arnold for converting their cattle, and Arnold was mulcted in large damages for wrongfully converting the animals.

In this state of affairs, Arnold appealed to the General Court of Massachusetts to make good the loss he had sustained from a defect in the title to the animals sold him. The claim was referred to a committee of the Court, which reported: That inasmuch as Arnold, since his purchase of the cattle, had voluntarily left the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and joined himself unto the people of whom he complains that have wronged him, it was not meet that the Court should make him satisfaction for the wrong his own people had done to him. The deputies approved of the report of the Committee, and this ended the matter.

September 4, 1651, the Warwick settlers gave notice to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, after reciting their grievances, that they were about to go to England to obtain protection for the future, while they were willing to forego their rights to indemnity for injuries in the past. This notice induced Massachusetts to lay before the Commissioners of the United Colonies a paper containing allegations that in all it had done to the Warwick people, it had the sanction and approval of the United Colonies.

The Commissioners from Connecticut and New Haven did not approve what Massachusetts had done, but said what had been done never had been laid before them, so that it could not own or disown them. Plymouth denied that it had ever resigned any claim to Warwick to Massachusetts, and that it was never lawful for it to do so, and that its commissioners did not understand what right Massachusetts had to take Gorton and his company, who resided so far out of its jurisdiction.

Digitized by Google

The Commissioners of the United Colonies further set forth: "And whereas we are informed that the Court of the Massachusetts have lately sent out several summons or warrants to several persons inhabiting Warwick, alias Shawomet and Pawtuxet, and have made seizures upon some of their estates, we do hereby protest against such proceedings, if any such be."

Massachusetts had professed to have acted under the authorities of both Plymouth and Connecticut, as well as under the submission of Pomham and Soconoco, and of William Arnold and his friends.

May, 1653, Gorton and John Smith complained of and made charges against the Court of Commissioners, which complaint and charges Providence laid before the Assembly, upon Gorton's appeal. This was during the Coddington incident, and Providence and Warwick were the only towns there represented, and though a special Court was ordered to consider this cause, no record of its final disposition has been discovered by the writer.

August 22, 1661, Gorton and his adherents petitioned Massachusetts to redress their grievances, which they marshaled under four heads:

First. The cruel and unjust seizure of their persons and estates by forces under Cooke, Atherton and Johnston. *Second.* Their false imprisonment for the space of one whole winter season and more, lying in chains and fetters of iron, and yet kept at work. *Third.* Their banishment and exile, continued from that time to the writing of this letter. *Fourth.* The great charge and expense you have put us into in the recovery of our lands, which you have seized, as well as our persons and estates, and from which you banished us, whereupon we were necessitated, for the supply of our present wants, to make use of our friends beyond modesty and all ordinary courtesy, when you had cast us out of home, harbor and place of abode, taking from us our goods of all sorts, and leaving us destitute, thinking thereby to drive us among the Indians, to our ruin, or else to the Dutch Plantations, where many of our English people were inhumanly massacred immediately before by the barbarous Indians, etc.

In 1656, Massachusetts authorities issued a warrant to their Marshal-General to arrest Richard Chasmore, who then resided at Pawtuxet. Savage says; "His crime was probably some crookedness in religion, or his concurrence with the Gortonist, his neighbor, on the opposite side of the river." The Marshal-General went to

Digitized by Google

Pawtuxet and arrested him, but stopped overnight with him in Providence. Chasmore had formerly belonged to the William Arnold party, and was one of the persons to whom the Massachusetts warrant to seize John Greene's cattle, May 20, 1643, was directed. Notwithstanding Massachusetts had relinquished its claim to jurisdiction over this territory to Plymouth in 1650, it then (1656) claimed to hold jurisdiction to issue the warrant and to hold Chasmore thereunder; but while he was in the custody of the Marshal of Massachusetts in Providence, Arthur Fenner, a magistrate there, issued a warrant to take Chasmore into custody, who was then under a recognizance to appear in the Courts of Rhode Island; upon which the prisoner was brought before Fenner and held from the custody of the Massachusetts officer. This act appears to have somewhat disturbed the equanimity of the Massachusetts Court, which, in May 6, 1657, after reading the letters and papers in reference to the Chasmore case and considering them, thought it necessary that something should be done to vindicate their just rights to jurisdiction over Pawtuxet, and that they should not pass over in silence the affront offered to the Marshal and those that were with him by the men of Providence. The release of Arnold and his adherents from their subjection to Massachusetts in 1658, appears to have ended the claim to jurisdiction, usurped by the Massachusetts Colony. The following paragraph from I. Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts shows the cause of the long delay in the Warwick settlers in vindicating their rights to jurisdiction over their territory. This author says: "Complaints were carried to Cromwell from Rhode Island, 1656, against Massachusetts, by Clarke Holmes and others, but Mr. Leverett, who was a captain of horse under Cromwell during some part of the war, had much of his favor, and though he could not prevent the Rhode Islanders from being favorably received, for no sect could fail of an advocate in Cromwell's Court, yet he prevented so much as an inquiry into the conduct of Massachusetts. Nay, Cromwell censured the Colony for banishing the seducers, which had risen up against them."

The Court of Massachusetts 20th, 3 mo., 1643 (recorded May 25, 1658); issued a commission to "William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, William Carpenter, Richard Chasmore, Christopher Hawksworth and Stephen Arnold, and to all or any of them, to apprehend the bodies of John Greene and his son John, Richard Waterman and Nicholas Power, and to bring them to Boston, before the

Digitized by Google

Governor or some other magistrate, to be proceeded with according to justice; and, if need or occasion be, they to take aid of any other English or Indians which are under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and to seize all the cattle of the said John Greene which cannot now be found, as they might thereafter find, and either send them to the Governor, at Boston, or to keep them safe till the Governor could send for them."

On the day of the date of this record, William Arnold and William Carpenter presented a petition for themselves and others, inhabitants of Pawtuxet, for a full discharge from their submission to Massachusetts, with their lands and estates. The Court saw well to grant the request of the petitioners, on the condition that Arnold gave an account of what he had done under his commission, and that the Greenes have liberty to prosecute him and others in any of the Courts for any injury done or pretended by him and others concerned, and that he give security to make good what is herein confirmed by the Court. October 19, 1658, it was made to appear that Arnold had given the required security; and whereas the said Arnold stood engaged in a bond to be responsible to answer the suit of the Greenes, and of any other, for what injury he had done to them by virtue of the Courts' Commission, without reference to any limit of time therefor, it was ordered that no prosecution of the said Arnold should be maintained after one year, when the said bond should be void.

Gorton was a tantalizing, troublesome and turbulent man. He not only denied but opposed the execution of all civil authority, which was not authorized by the governing authority in England. In this conduct he was pretty consistent and probably entirely honest. He denied the obligation of the ordinances of the church. In religion, he believed that Christ became incarnate in Adam, that his birth, crucifixion and resurrection were not illustrative of his office in the plan of redemption and salvation.

He was a man of great activity, persistency and energy, though strongly self-willed, of integrity of purpose and free from corrupt practices. His adherents were generally devoted to him, though he broke friendship with John Warner, who left the colony and returned to England.

He was a man of considerable learning and intellectual resources—though a somewhat voluminous author, yet his greatest title to distinction is the wrong done him and the sufferings to which he

Digitized by Google

was subjected, by the authorities of Massachusetts. He saved Warwick from being taken and held by Massachusetts or Plymouth, but it is quite doubtful, if either of those colonies would ever have made claim to that territory, had not Gorton resided upon it. He and his associates were also instrumental in withholding the Narragansett country from Connecticut.

Gorton and his adherents never dissembled as to their acts or opinions, to avoid any punishment or to gain favor. Easton, whom Gorton had grossly insulted at "the Island," while Governor, notified Massachusetts that Rhode Island would make the case of Gorton and his adherents its own, and Roger Williams, who had bitterly complained to Massachusetts of the conduct of Gorton, became his most powerful defender and the protector of the homes of his friends, and entered protests against the large expenses to which they had been subjected.

To these appeals, Massachusetts does not appear to have made any reply. In 1664, the King sent over a commission, composed of Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright and Samuel Maverick, to investigate the affairs of the colonies—their relations with the Indians and to determine existing differences between the colonies and among the people.

Gorton and his adherents laid their complaints with commendable brevity, and in a manner which would seem to negative Governor Winthrop's charge of "illiteracy," before these commissioners. To these charges Massachusetts replied, "That the charges involved an ungrateful investigation into the ruins of time, after things hard to be found, which was not lessened by the revolution of the generation, which had almost passed away, since their transaction." Then, with a degree of vituperation and an obscurity of meaning equal to Gorton's most bitter and incomprehensible allusions, they go through the charges of blasphemous heresy and his insolence to Massachusetts officials and, by reference, incorporate into their answer "Hypocrisy Unmasked."

To this issue, thus made up, the only outcome which has been found on record, is a note from Commissioner Cartwright to Gorton, dated May 25, 1665, in which it is said "These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe that they verily think that the King has given them so much power in their charter to do unjustly, that he reserved none to himself to call them to an account for doing so. In short they refuse to let us hear complaints against them, so that

Digitized by Google

at present we can do nothing in your behalf—but I hope shortly to go to England, where if God bless me thither, I shall truly represent your suffering and your loyalty." These commissioners heard the impending matters of difference between Pomham and his Shawomet Indians and the Warwick settlers—The result of which was that Pomham was ordered "to remove from Warwick and out of the King's province before the next planting, and that the settlers should pay him £20, but if Pessicus would consent to receive him and his Indians, Pomham might go out of Warwick into other parts of the Indian territory."

In 1664, after the Charter of Charles II to Rhode Island and after the King had taken the Narragansetts into his protection, (orders were issued for their protection March 2, 1664-5), Gorton wrote Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, of the receipt of this order and notified him that he had received information that the Connecticut Indians intended to invade the Narragansett country and desired the Governor to have them forbidden, as the Narragansetts were to be defended.

Late in life, Gorton was terribly afflicted with the "stone." August 11, 1674, he wrote Governor Winthrop at New London, when in his 82d year, that though up to a very recent period, he had been in the enjoyment of good health, that this terrible malady was upon him—stated concisely the manifestations of his disorder and asked the Governor to prescribe for it. On the 18th of August, Governor Winthrop replied to Gorton's request and sent him medicine, which had a very manifest effect upon Gorton's disease, greatly relieving him of pain and enabling him to rest quietly and indeed soon restored him to his normal state of health. Gorton delayed replying to Governor Winthrop's letter and acknowledging his gratitude for the singular benefit conferred upon him, until the following October, when in a clear, forcible and compact manner, he states the effect of the medicine upon his disorder from time to time, and in affectionate and appropriate terms, acknowledges his obligation and gratitude for the great benefit conferred upon him.

Gorton died December 10, 1677, aged 85 years. He left Samuel, John, Benjamin, Mahershallalhasbaz, Mary, Sarah, Ann, Elizabeth and Susanna. His daughter Ann married John Warner, the son of the John who had returned to England; Mary married first Peter Greene and second John Sanford, with whom she went to live and lived and died in Tiverton. All of the nine children were married and survived their father.

Digitized by Google

His naming his town for the Earl of Warwick, his procuring a deed of submission of themselves and their lands from the Narragansett Chiefs to the British Crown and having himself, Holden and Warner appointed by these Chiefs to deliver this submission, and finally his naming of the Narragansett country "The King's Province," show that Gorton was not destitute of tact in the conduct of public affairs.

November 17, 1771, the Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles visited John Angell in Providence, who was born October 4, 1691. Angell informed Dr. Stiles that his grandfather came to Providence with and as the hired man of Roger Williams. Angell was a great admirer of Samuel Gorton; he showed the Doctor three quarto volumes in print, of the writings of Samuel Gorton. One was entitled "An Incomparable Key, etc., in 2 parts, 120 and 119 pages, 1647," another was "Saltmarsh returned from the Dead, pp. 198. London, 1655." The other was "Antidote against the Common Plague of the World, etc.," dedicated to the Lord Protector and dated at Warwick, in Narragansett Bay, October 20, 1656, pp. 296, printed in 1657.

Gorton was constitutionally a controversialist. He appears to have been quite indifferent to the opinion of his contemporaries and as having been unwilling to let any opportunity pass unavailed of to assert and defend his dogmas; yet he was a consistent royalist to the last. When elected an assistant upon the retirement of Sir Edmund Andros, he refused to take the oath of office, because he had not the sanction of the King for so doing. He denied the validity of the ordinances adopted and practised in the church, and the death of Christ, and firmly contended that every man should search for religious truth from any and every possible source, and that baptism, the communion, Church organization and a settled ministry were unnecessary. Gorton retained the confidence of the people, for he was in office up to his death.

Gorton was undoubtedly the leader in the settlement of the town of Warwick, but the descendants of John Greene have been far more influential in maintaining and upholding this ancient municipality than the descendants of any other of the original settlers—possibly more influential than the descendants of all the other first settlers.

WM. P. SHEFFIELD.

Digitized by Google

NAPOLEON AND THE AMERICAN WAR OF 1812.

The interest manifested recently in regard to Napoleon and the American war of 1812, leads us to reflect that it is a subject that must have at one time been of great interest to the American people, and yet when we come to examine about it we find the subject was formerly more often referred to by historical writers than in those of more recent years.

The reference to the subject, however, has always been governed by the feelings of the writers and show whether they were in favor of or against the war with Great Britain, in 1812, without giving facts to support the view.

It is not the purpose of this article to discuss the causes or objects of the declaration of war against England in 1812, or the result and effect of its termination, but to show some of the prominent points which Napoleon made in favor of America against England.

It should be remembered that in 1812, at the time of the law of Congress declaring war against Great Britain, Napoleon had for many years been the terror of Europe and the victor on many bloody battle fields, and his genius and boldness were greatly admired by the great mass of the American people, who, in the shadows of the American and French revolutions were crying "down with tyrants." In July, 1812, a large number of American privateers under the laws of the United States, sailed from American ports, and many more would have done so could the proper equipments have been obtained. Napoleon was so engrossed with his campaign against Russia when the American war was declared, and his prospects were so full of success, and he being on his way to Russia at the time and not hearing of the American war until many months after it was declared, that he did not pay any attention to it.

After the failure of the campaign against Russia, and Napoleon's return to France in the spring of 1813, among his new plans of war to be considered was that of the American war. When American privateers began to arrive in French ports with captured English vessels as prizes, some embarrassment arose as to how they should be disposed of.

Digitized by Google

The first official notice of it taken by Napoleon was early in May, 1813, and was in regard to American privateers, which then plentifully appeared in European waters against British shipping.

American ports were not blockaded by the British until the spring of 1813, and up to that time American privateers could sail from and to them without much danger. Napoleon then decreed that "The consuls of the United States shall have in France, in what relates to prizes, the same jurisdiction which the French consuls exercise in the countries where they are most favored (the allies of France)." Thus all the ports of France were open to American captures, providing an American consul was there to hold court. It does not appear that any other nation allowed this, although many American captures were taken into the ports of Norway, Peru, Spain, Florida (then belonging to Spain), Frankfort, and some others. Portugal claimed to be neutral and would not allow any captures to be brought into any of her ports. This was an important privilege. By the law of nations, each nation must provide a court for the adjudication of its captures from an enemy, and the court may be held in the country of the ally, but not in a neutral country, but the prize courts of an ally could not adjudicate upon a capture. Consular courts were allowed to act in such matters, and were regulated by their nation; a neutral nation could not allow the captures of the belligerents to be brought into its port and be sold. But if only one belligerent is allowed to do so the nation permitting it cannot be called neutral. Many foreign nations allowed American and British captures to be brought into its ports during the war of 1812–15, and there were others that would not allow either of the belligerents to do so.

The American consul, Mr. Wm. Lee, held a prize court at Bordeaux, which was the most popular and more often resorted to than any other in France. American captures could be taken there with safety, adjudicated upon and sold, and at once fitted out as new privateers. This was of great advantage to both France and America, to have privateers fitted out in France and yet sail under the American flag, for then no nation but Great Britain could seize them, and they were on the ground ready for action against British shipping.

In the decree of May, 1813, Napoleon also ordained that "the American vessels and privateers shall be allowed to take each fifty muskets, fifty pistols and fifty swords, and the number of guns from three to twenty-four pounders, which shall be necessary, when fitting

Digitized by Google

out in French ports." This was more remarkable, when we consider that at that time nearly all Europe was arrayed against him, and when implements and equipments of that nature were in great demand.

The situation of European nations in 1813 was very peculiar. The British *allies* were Sweden, Prussia, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Sicily and Russia. Great Britain was *at war* with the United States, Denmark, Saxony, Bavaria, Westphalia, France and Naples. It thus became a problem in international law to decide who besides Great Britain were to be regarded as our enemies.

At the meeting of the British Parliament in November, 1813, Lord Compton said: "He might be told that America was not the ally of France. He knew that she had not signed and sealed a formal treaty of alliance with that country; but that she (United States) had formed that species of alliance which was fully an equivalent by giving her (France) all the assistance of her power in the contest now waging."

The distinction was that France was an ally of the United States and could assist in the war against England but the United States was not an ally of France, and could not assist her in any other war or contest against any other nation than Great Britain.

What effect this action of Napoleon had upon the policy of the Congress of Vienna and the terms of the treaty of Ghent, in 1814, which terminated the American war, need not here be narrated.

When Napoleon declared in 1812, that there would be no neutrals in the European wars, it showed that he knew the temper and feelings of the people.

R. S. GUERNSEY.

Digitized by Google

DAVENPORT AND ITS ENVIRONS.—II.

"The valley of the Mississippi," said that critical observer, De Tocqueville, "is the most magnificent dwelling place prepared by God for man's abode." And the distinguished traveler, Bayard Taylor, designated Iowa as containing the garden spot of the world. Davenport, located in the centre of all the physical beauty and material wealth of this highly favored region of the Mississippi Valley, with the grand state of Iowa at its back, is, by a concensus of judgment, not only the most important city of the state, but by reason of its many special natural advantages and resources, and picturesque loveliness of its scenery, the most favorable site for a great city in all this beautiful land.

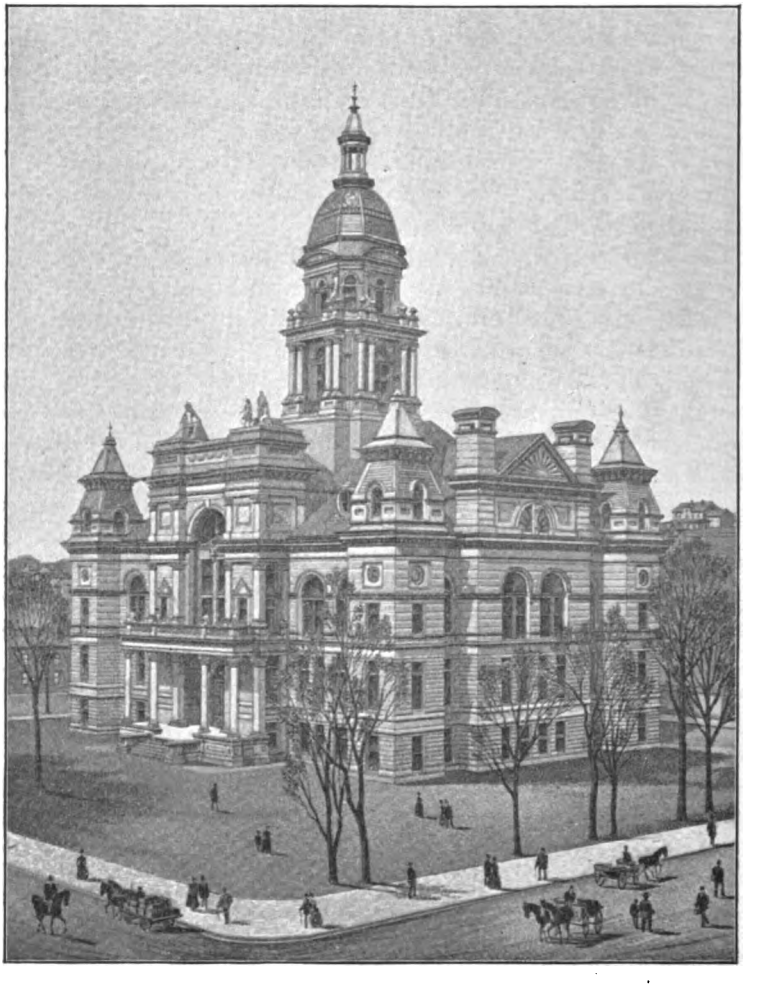
Davenport was originally surveyed and laid out in the winter of 1835–36. By some mishap the plat then made was lost and was discovered only a few years ago by Judge Rorer, in Burlington, and restored to a Davenport citizen. The patriotic spirit of the founders of the city was shown in the selection of names for the streets, and when the town was resurveyed in 1841, the excellent street nomenclature first adopted, was but slightly changed. Most of the streets leading north from the river were named for distinguished generals in the last war with Great Britain—men who were also famous as Indian fighters. They are in the order of enumeration, beginning with the western part of the city, Warren, Brown, Gaines, Scott, Ripley, Harrison, Brady and Perry. Western avenue, originally Western Row, and Main, which was Miller in the old chart, were the only changes made. The streets parallel with the river were Sac, Fox, Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawattamie, named after the principal tribes of Indians with whom these generals had been engaged. It is regretfully recorded that numbers were subsequently substituted for the Indian names. Though the brightness of the hero's fame for whom it was named is now somewhat dimmed, Brady is the principal street. In the once popular ballad, "Benny Haven, O!" the verse to General Brady reads:

Here's a health to General Brady—
God bless the old hero!
He's an honor to his country,
But a terror to his foe,

Digitized by Google

May he long rest on his laurels
May he sorrow never know,
But live to see a thousand years
And Benny Haven, O!

Among the important events of Davenport's early history, the most thrilling and memorable was the contest waged in support of her claim to recognition in the selection of a location for the county



COURT HOUSE.

Digitized by Google

seat of Scott county. Rockingham, a flourishing village at the mouth of Rock river, five miles below Davenport, was also desirous of appropriating the honor and soon developed into a formidable rival. The question was to be decided by that uncertain arbiter the ballot box, and whether it was accomplished by aid of tissue ballots or foreign importations—methods known to modern manipulators—the canvass revealed an astonishing excess of population in both towns, with Davenport ahead.

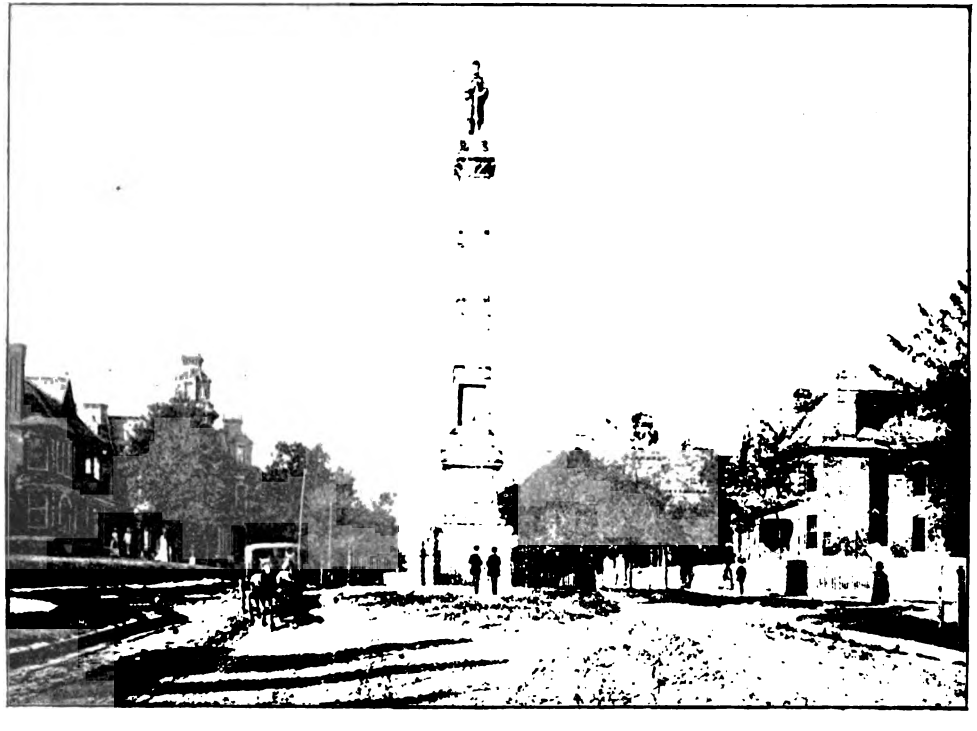
The cry of fraud was successfully raised and a new vote ordered, the result showing the same increase in the voting population, only this time Rockingham was the winner.

In the year 1839, a short time prior to the last election mentioned, a young man from the east with a printing press, appeared on the scene and immediately became the object of intense interest to the contending parties. What inducements were offered by the leaders interested in Davenport's cause, the historians of this epoch have failed to state, but the Iowa Sun was established, and in its first issue declared its intention "to cast its rays over the moral and political landscape regardless of those petty interests and local considerations which might contract its beams," and further that, "we have selected the centre of the system around which all our territorial interests harmoniously revolve."

A bit of history gleamed from the records of the Pioneer Settlers Association contains the sequel to the story of how Davenport obtained its first newspaper. Andrew Logan, editor, proprietor and type-setter of the Sun, some years later, in responding to the toast, Pioneer Press of Scott county, refers to the county-seat strife in these words, "Prominent citizens of both places sought to negotiate with us for the aid of our press in their behalf. To Davenport we were finally sold, affections, press and all, for we loved the spot and thought we could read upon the broad and unfolded pages of her virgin hills and adjacent fertile prairies, something highly auspicious of a blooming future, but soon the bloodless war was fought and the victory was ours and the flames of excitement sublimed away into viewless air—promises and integrity, too, and we were sold —for an empty promise was our reward."

The dispute, after a struggle lasting over two years, was finally amicably terminated by compromise. Davenport secured the prize by offering to build a court-house and jail free of cost to the county.

Digitized by Google



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

Digitized by Google

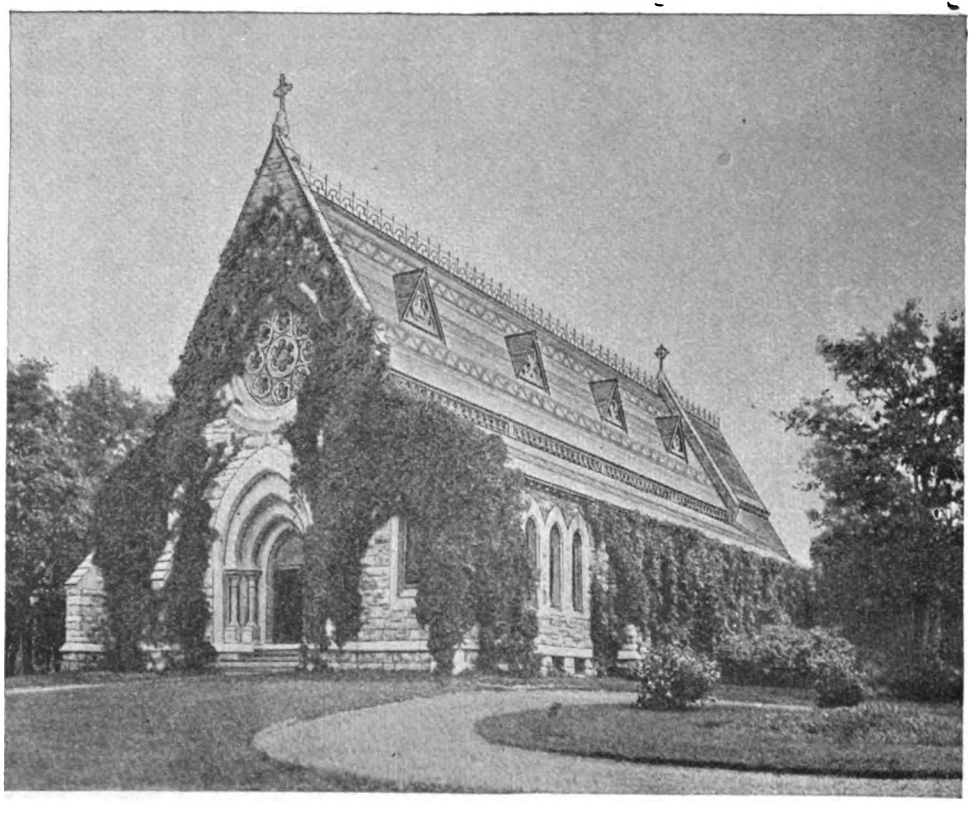
The prominent actors in the Rockingham drama soon after removed to the victorious hamlet, and with their enthusiasm and energy contributed largely to its prosperity—Dr. E. S. Barrows, Willard Barrows, Geo. B. Sargent, Ebenezer Cook and John P. Cook, not only became conspicuous figures in Davenport's history, but in their different spheres achieved national reputation. Rockingham is now numbered among the vanished towns on the Mississippi, and no trace except the name now remains.

After the smoke of battle was cleared away and the peaceful pursuits of agriculture were the most absorbing interest, the editor of the Sun seems to have been employed principally in writing accounts of the marvellous productions of Scott county's fertile soil, especially in the line of abnormal vegetable specimens. These fruitful and exciting themes flowed into the office, fired the imagination of the versatile editor and inspired astonishing pen pictures, with the odorous and famous onion of her vicinity appropriately conspicuous.

Competition was thus encouraged, and not to be outdone by his neighbors, an enterprising young horticulturist conceived the idea of a composite potato. The cleverly executed design was palmed off upon the editor as the latest mammoth production, and roused his enthusiasm to such a pitch that all former efforts in this line of description were surpassed. But there were doubters in the field, and a critical examination revealed the joke with the laugh upon the over-credulous editor, which slightly cooled his ardor.

The Sun must have extolled the upper Mississippi as a second Golden Horn, for Mr. A. C. Fulton arrived in Davenport in the early summer of 1842, with a miscellaneous stock of merchandise, which included two barrels of fish hooks. Mr. Fulton was an enterprising man and popularized his store by "marking down" the prices of his wares, but the stock of fish hooks supplied the town for many years. The scope of Mr. Fulton's talents could not long be prescribed within the narrow limits of the mercantile field afforded by Davenport, and he soon disposed of his interests and turned his attention to greater enterprises. He conceived the idea of utilizing the river for water-power by digging a canal beginning at the upper rapids and extending it on the Iowa side to the fort. He employed engineers to survey the proposed route, and work was actually begun; but enthusiasm was not sufficient

Digitized by Google



CATHEDRAL SACRED HEART.

Digitized by Google

guaranty for the enormous cost, and a project which would have converted Davenport into a Pittsburg or a Lowell in manufacturing importance, was abandoned for lack of funds. This enterprise is still one of the grand and perfectly feasible possibilities of Davenport's future.

The first religious discourse delivered in Davenport was given by the Rev. E. C. Gavitt, a Methodist missionary clergyman, in 1837, at the house of D. D. Eldridge, says a Scott county historian. Mr. Gavitt, in Reminiscences of Pioneer Life, states that it was in 1835, in the house of Captain Sholes, the man who built the second house erected in the place. The first church edifice dedicated was St. Anthony's Roman Catholic. This church was organized in 1838, by the Rev. Samuel Muzzuchelli, with St. Peter for its primary and St. Anthony as secondary patron. The building was for many years, church, school-house and priest's residence, and the pastor, besides ministering to the congregation in the capacity of priest, was also teacher in the school.

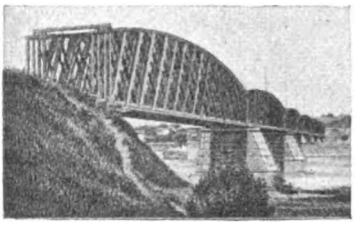
Antoine Le Claire donated a block of ground on which the church was built, besides being the principal contributor to the building fund. The pioneer Catholic priest, Rev. J. A. Palamorgues, assumed charge of St. Anthony's congregation in 1839. He came among the people of Davenport from France, a stranger without knowledge of English, rich only in faith—and in his great capacity for work. The school which was opened by Father Palamorgues in 1840, was the first common school taught in Davenport, and numbered among its pupils children of all denominations. Judge John F. Dillon, besides many others who have since become distinguished men, attended his school. After the death of Bishop Loras, the first bishop of the Catholic diocese of Iowa, unsolicited by himself, and without his knowledge, Father Palamorgues was appointed bishop by the Pope.

The good father, after mature reflection, decided that he was unfit for the position and undertook the journey to Rome to present his declination in person, saying that the Holy Father would believe his words when he saw him. When, after a little more than three decades of effort, Father Palamorgues severed his connection with his people and Davenport friends, to return to St. Genevieve, France, his native town and country, to spend the remainder of his days among his kinsmen, the priceless reward of appreciation that his self sacrificing labors as priest, teacher and philanthropist

Digitized by Google

had earned for him was unstintingly manifested. He was loved by all, revered by all, and the Pioneer Settler's Association, of which he was an honored member, followed him with a unanimous request to return to the field of his labors and his triumphs. Impaired health prevented the acceptance of the invitation, and soon after the news of his death was received by his Davenport friends.

The year 1856 marks a distinct epoch in the history of Davenport, for it was in that year that a railroad bridge, the first to span the great Mississippi was completed. The first locomotive, "Des Moines," to trespass upon Iowa soil from the east came over this bridge into Davenport, April 21st, of that year. The long dreamed of and fought for communication with the eastern world by rail, had been accomplished by its projectors as far as the completion of a road to the eastern bank of the river, in 1854.



FIRST BRIDGE ACROSS THE MISSISSIPPI.

But there it rested for a time. Davenport could not be reached without crossing the river and the difficulties involved in bridging it were manifold; moreover, the enterprise from the outset provoked the most bitter opposition. Rival river towns looked with jealous eyes upon the scheme, the peaceful waters of the Mississippi were in the minds of many too sacred to be disturbed by the noisy iron-horse, and in the persons of steamboat owners infringement of the ancient rights of commerce by placing obstructions upon a natural channel, was strenuously resisted. But the railroad company, regardless of the mutterings of approaching storms, pushed the terminus of the road across the river by bridge. St. Louis, armed with an injunction proceeded to have it condemned as a nuisance. This was done, and the eminent jurist, Judge Love, of the Federal Court, issued an order for its removal.

The order was, however, subsequently reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, and the first bridge across the Mississippi remained, doing splendid railroad duty and no injury to river traffic, until it was swept away by the resistless power of the Father of Waters in its annual break-up in the spring of 1869. The counsel engaged in the famous bridge contest before the Supreme

Digitized by Google

Court, were Reverdy Johnson for the railroad, and Abraham Lincoln for the prosecution.

A railroad that should cross the continent from ocean to ocean was contemplated even in that day, and included in the plans of the irrepressible spirits that controlled Davenport's destiny, and while the Chicago and Rock Island was waiting bridge transport on the east side of the river, the Mississippi and Missouri was preparing to welcome it on the west. Amid floating banners and accompanying strains of music, the first shovel full of earth for the latter enterprise was lifted by Antoine Le Claire, September 1, 1853, and on the 21st of August, 1855, an excursion train drawn by the locomotives Le Claire and Iowa, was run over the first section of railroad constructed in Iowa.

Among the pioneers who came to Davenport before the footprints of the retreating red man were entirely effaced, there is one woman whose name will long be remembered. In 1869, at the death of her husband, to whom she was devotedly attached, Mrs. Clarissa C. Cook came into possession of a large fortune, and being without direct heirs, she resolved to use her surplus income for upbuilding and ornamenting the city that her husband had been actively interested in developing during his life. Mrs. Cook was a quiet, retiring, gentle woman, and her generous deeds were as unostentatiously performed as had been all the minor public acts of her former life.

In religion an Episcopalian, and warmly attached to her church, her first thought was in that direction. Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Cook erected a memorial chapel and rectory in the western part of the city; her interest in Trinity parish, of which she had been many years a member, was manifested by the gift of a magnificent church, built of stone, on one of the principal streets. This church is architecturally one of the grandest in the city, and the donor's further interest was shown at her death by directions given to the executors of her will for the placing of a chime of bells in its stately tower. In memory of her husband's active interest and expressed intention to aid the Library Association, the next important gift of Mrs. Cook was the erection of a permanent building that would amply meet its growing wants for many years.

The greatest benefaction, purely charitable in its nature, was not undertaken by this noble woman during her life. For the

Digitized by Google

purpose of founding the Clarissa C. Cook Home for the Friendless, to provide a home for destitute and indigent women, the sum of $50,000 was bequeathed to John F. Dillon, Edward E. Cook and two other gentlemen, together with fifteen acres of land lying on

CLARISSA C. COOK HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS.

the outskirts of the city, which was devised for the same purpose, and on which the Home was directed to be built. Under a provision of the will $65,000 more was added to the resources of the Home. All the directions for the establishment of the Home were carefully executed. The buildings are magnificent, the grounds suitable and tasteful; it has an income sufficient to meet all demands, and under the admirable management of a Board of Trustees, composed of prominent men and women of the city, the institution is a fitting and enduring monument to the beneficence of the testatrix and a credit to Davenport.

Nicholas Fejervary, a Hungarian by birth, has been many years connected with the Cook Home as a trustee, and his interest in the work caused him to consider the desirability of a similar institution for men. Mr. Fejervary is a man of wealth, fully imbued with the spirit of the liberal giver, where his contributions will relieve distress or assist the needy, and with him, so to think, was to act in an enterprise of this nature. A desirable location was

Digitized by Google

selected, and under his personal care and supervision a beautiful building, perfectly adapted to the needs of an institution of this character has been erected. The Fejervary Home, completed the past year, has recently been opened, and like the Cook Home is amply endowed by its originator. This charity, so nobly planned, is, in part, an expression of Mr. Fejervary's gratitude to the country and city of his adoption, for the blessings of freedom which he sought and found here more than forty years ago, when disappointment, because of the failure of the revolution in which the patriot Kossuth was the leading spirit, caused him to become a voluntary exile from his native land.

Mr. Fejervary was a member of the Diet or National Legislature in those eventful days of 1843 and 1844, when the liberation

OPERA HOUSE AND TURNER HALL.

of Hungary was the burning question at issue. His life in his native country was principally spent in superintending and cultivating his large estates, and his respect for tillers of the soil is shown by limiting the benefits of the Home to sons of toil, in reduced circumstances, belonging to the agricultural classes.

In the purely benevolent work for which Davenport is noted, women have been distinguished. Indeed, the greater part of it may be justly claimed as the result of the efforts of women, who

Digitized by Google

have labored persistently and disinterestedly in this field for many years. The Ladies' Relief Society, as it exists to-day, traces in an unbroken chain its history to the Ladies' Benevolent Society organized in 1849. The beautiful building, an ornament to the city, in which this organization is now located, is the crowning evidence of long continued and intelligent effort. The Industrial Home is what its name signifies, and unites under its spacious roof the various enterprises fostered by the management for the assistance of the worthy poor. A laundry, a nursery and a sewing school are now in successful operation, with other departments in contemplation.

The Associated Charities, with an office in the same building and a qualified agent constantly employed, admirably supplements the work of the Relief Society in securing employment, investigating cases and causes of distress, and in other ways looking after the wants of the poor and unfortunate. Another worthy institution is the Nursery of the Iowa Children's Home Society, which is located at Davenport. In less than five years of its existence it has received and placed in families 625 homeless children. The Young Men's Christian Association of Davenport, has reached its twenty-sixth year, and is numbered among the successful and useful institutions of the city.

Th eLend-a-Hand Club is an organization composed of working girls and women of the city, and was instituted for social recreation and the mutual benefit of its members. The underlying principle upon which the society is based is, that each member in return for benefits received shall be helpful to some one less fortunately circumstanced, and that she shall exercise special watchfulness over the young and inexperienced. The pleasant club rooms are centrally located, with library, reading room, piano, "noon-rest," evening classes, popular lectures, and a junior branch for the younger girls. From this centre radiates an influence which is more sensibly felt year by year. Eight nationalities, eleven religious denominations and twenty-four different occupations are represented in the club membership. The Woman's Alliance is a representative organization, with the special object of securing for women and girls who fall under the cognizance of the law, the attendance of one of their own sex. As a result of the efforts of the society, Davenport has what no other Iowa town has, a police matron.

Digitized by Google

The Iowa Soldiers' Orphans' Home was established and located at Davenport soon after the close of the war, and was maintained as such until the year 1880. At that time the great and noble work of caring for the destitute children of the state, orphaned and made homeless by the exigencies of war, was by its own limitations drawing to a conclusion, and the Home was converted by the state legislature into a general orphan asylum.

The Home began its existence in a military camp just outside the city limits, and the excellent barracks which had so recently sheltered cavalry soldiers became homes for soldiers' orphans. Whether the idea was suggested because of the numerous low, long, white-washed buildings that could be so readily utilized, or because of the greater wisdom of its originators, cannot now be stated, but the institution was from the beginning, as it now is, conducted on the cottage system, which embraces as nearly as possible the most essential features of the family home. With the reconstruction of the Home in its present permanent form, every trace of its original use is obliterated. The main building is a handsome structure built of pressed brick; the two-story brick cottages, commodious hospital and fine school building, flanking it on either side in form of a half circle, make a conspicuous and attractive group in the beautiful landscape which surrounds it. There are at present 400 children gathered from the alms-houses, and the poverty stricken homes of the state, including the soldiers' orphans still remaining, that are being carefully reared, trained, and educated for citizenship in the Home.

The institution is a credit to the liberal spirit of the people of the great commonwealth that can point with pride to a record for the lowest percentage of illiteracy and pauperism of any state in the union. To Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer, who achieved a national reputation for relief work during the war, belongs the credit of being the principal founder of the home. In a letter over her signature, dated March, 1888, she says : " I matured the plan during the Mississippi river campaign, which culminated in the surrender of Vicksburg, in July, 1863. It was in the hospitals where I saw hundreds of Iowa men facing death, whose one anxiety was for their children, that the thought came to me, and many a dying soldier was comforted by the assurance that I would undertake the enterprise."

Digitized by Google

The barracks built upon confiscated ground, belonged to the government, but through Mrs. Wittenmeyer's intimate acquaintance and influence with government officials at Washington, the property was secured and finally turned over to her by Secretary Stanton, together with an immense quantity of hospital supplies, subject however to the approval of Congress. By the time Congress convened, 500 soldiers' orphans were in possession of the property, with a warm friend of the cause from Davenport, as member of the House to plead for them. The next important step was to secure the adoption of the Home by the state. With this mission accomplished, Mrs. Wittenmeyer severed her connection with it to pursue her philanthropic labors in other fields.

If caring for the aged, the homeless, and the destitute, the sick and the unfortunate is applied as a test of civilization, Davenport, for all these humanitarian works, will take high rank. In addition to the many public and private institutions devoted to these purposes, the largest, best appointed and conducted hospital west of Chicago, has been in successful operation for many years.

MERCY HOSPITAL.

The history of Mercy Hospital, conducted, as its name would imply, by the Sisters of Mercy, from those bitter mid-winter days of 1868, when a small band of intrepid, hopeful, black-habited women first occupied the lone, ill-adapted building, on what seemed at that time the bleakest prairie, for the purpose of founding a hospital, up to its present magnificent building proportions,

Digitized by Google

and ideally beautiful grounds, is replete with historic interest. Never was the courage born of conviction put to a severer test than in those early hospital days. A less stout heart, a less active brain, a less warm faith than were possessed by Rev. Mother Boromeo, who was at the head of the institution, would have succumbed under the disadvantages and discouragements that beset the enterprise. Mother Boromeo lived only long enough to see the hospital pass the crucial experimental period, but the work so successfully inaugurated by her has since been carried on by scarcely less able hands.

Another large hospital, which will be to some extent a charity hospital, is to be opened in the very heart of the city in the near future.

Bishop Perry has recently purchased a fine property for the purpose, and a hospital which will be conducted upon the most approved principles, will be reconstructed out of the commodious building that now occupies the grounds. Among the private institutions of this nature in the city, the Woman's Hospital, conducted by Dr. Jennie McCowen, is worthy of especial mention.

M. PECK.

THE CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF DAVENPORT.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP McMULLEN. RIGHT REV. BISHOP COSGROVE.

Says Rev. James McGovern, D.D., in his life of Bishop McMullen: "Long before the diocese of Chicago was created by the sovereign pontiff, Dubuque had been erected into an Episcopal See, embracing the territories of Iowa and Minnesota. On December 10, 1837, the Right Reverend Mathias Loras, D.D., a native of Lyons, France, was consecrated at Mobile, Alabama, the first bishop of this diocese. At the time there was but one church in the whole territory of Iowa, and Rev. Samuel Mazzuchelli was the only resident priest. Bishop Loras, after his consecration, returned to France for the purpose of securing missionaries for his new diocese. Leaving France in October of 1838, he arrived in New York, after a long and tempestuous passage, bringing with him Rev. Joseph Cretin, afterward bishop of St. Paul, Rev. A. Pelamorgues and four seminarians. Bishop Loras

Digitized by Google

BISHOP McMULLEN.

Digitized by Google

took possession of his new diocese, and was installed in the church of St. Raphael, April 29, 1839, commencing his Episcopal duties with three priests and four theological students. Father Pelamorgues was assigned to the extensive mission of Davenport, which comprised all the southern part of the territory. . . . . He did so well in laying the corner stone of the church, in this vast field of labor, that neither time nor human events have changed his foresight and he had the consolation of seeing large and prosperous Catholic communities grow up around him." It was therefore Father Pelamorgues —as he became familiarly known to every body in Davenport— who laid the foundation of the Davenport diocese. A man of splendid organizing ability, deep piety and earnest devotion to the cause to which he had consecrated his life, he greatly advanced the upbuilding of the church, remaining at Davenport until he had reached a venerable age, when he sought retirement at his home in France, preferring this to the prospective reward of a bishopric.

During the administration of Bishop Loras, the diocese of St. Paul had been seggregated from the original diocese of Dubuque, and during the administration of his immediate successor, Right Rev. Clement Smyth, D.D., the rapid growth of the church caused another division of the diocese to be considered. Under the administration however of Right Rev. John Hennessy, D.D., who became Bishop of Dubuque after the death of Bishop Smyth—division was postponed until 1881, when the new diocese of Davenport was created. The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda announced that the city of Davenport had been decided on as the See City of the new diocese, which would take in all that part of the State of Iowa bounded on the east by the Mississippi River, on the west by the Missouri River, on the south by the State of Missouri, and on the north by the northern boundaries of the counties of Harrison, Shelby, Audubon, Guthrie, Dallas, Polk, Jasper, Poweshiek, Iowa, Johnson, Cedar and Scott. A special cable, dated at Rome, May 9, 1881, conveyed this further intelligence: "On Sunday, May 8, 1881, the feast of the patronage of St. Joseph, it pleased our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII., first to ratify the creation of the diocese of Davenport, Iowa, cut from the diocese of Dubuque, which comprised the whole State of Iowa; second, to name the Very Rev. John McMullen, D.D., V.G. of Chicago, to be the first bishop of Davenport. This See will be a Suffragan of the Metropolitan See of St. Louis."

Digitized by Google

To briefly sketch the further development of the diocese, and the lives of the able and zealous clergymen who have controlled its destinies since its organization, is the further purpose of this chapter of church history. The newly appointed Bishop McMullen was at the time of his elevation to the Episcopacy Vicar-general of the diocese of Chicago, had long held a pastorate in that city, and was greatly beloved by all classes of people.

He was a native of Ireland, having been born in Ballanyhinch, County Down, January 8, 1832. His father, James McMullen, and Alice, his wife, sailed for America when he was little more than a year old, and after a long and stormy voyage they landed at Quebec. For three years the family lived on a farm near Quebec, and later the elder McMullen established his home on another farm near Prescott, in the province of Ontario. Here a fire destroyed the homestead and they removed to the neighborhood of Ogdensburg, New York, where they resided until 1843, when they removed to Illinois. The boy who was afterward to become Bishop McMullen, was twelve years old when his parents settled in Chicago. Prior to this time he had attended only a country school, but he had given evidence of strong intellectuality, and when afforded the advantages of educational training in the schools of Chicago he made rapid advancement. When Bishop Quarter founded the University of St. Mary of the Lake, John McMullen entered the new college and therein received his academic training. "In his academic course," says Dr. McGovern, in the biography from which I have before quoted, "he gave undoubted proof of his future career. His triumphs of eloquence in debate, his caustic pen, his sound judgment and his mastery of the most intricate problems in mathematical science, caused him to come under the approving eye of his professors. In a little college paper, issued by him and another class-mate, his intellectual weapons flashed with unwonted brilliancy, and the seeds of literature sowed in his powerful mind blossomed with a vigor which made itself remarkable in its fruits."

A deep piety and a remarkable capacity for influencing the character and conduct of his associates, were distinguishing features of his early life and his fitness for the priesthood as well as his evident desire to enter that holy calling were noted by his teachers and friends. At the close of his college course in 1850, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and soon afterwards entered upon a course of theological study.

Digitized by Google

+ Henry Casgrain
Bishop of Daren[illegible]

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

In 1852, while pursuing these studies, he was directed by his physician to give up the routine for a time, and while obeying this injunction he devoted himself to writing for publication a series of letters which constituted an important contribution to the Catholic literature of that period. In the fall of 1853, in company with James McGovern, now a noted Catholic clergyman and author, he was sent by Bishop Van de Velde, of the Chicago diocese, to the College of the Propaganda at Rome, where he pursued a few years' course of study. In the summer of 1858, he was ordained a minister of the Catholic Church, and received from Cardinal Barnabo the insignia of Doctor of Divinity. He immediately left Rome for the United States and arrived in Chicago in October of that year. Immediately after his return home, he engaged actively in ministerial work, and one of his first important acts was the founding of the House of the Good Shepherd, an institution which has been grandly prolific of good results. In 1861, he was appointed to take charge of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, but in a short time he was called to the Presidency of the University of St. Mary of the Lake, a position which he retained for several years. In 1870, he became rector of the Cathedral of the Holy Name, and continued to discharge the duties of this pastorate until he was made bishop of Davenport. In the meantime he was appointed vicar-general to Bishop Foley, and continued in this position by Archbishop Feehan, when that renowned ecclesiastic succeeded to the bishopric left vacant by the death of Bishop Foley. Such is a brief sketch of the early life of the man appointed first bishop of Davenport. A profound scholar, an eloquent preacher and an ardent churchman, when he took charge of the new diocese he threw himself into the work of building up the church in the promising field to which he had been assigned, with the ardor of an enthusiast. On the 30th day of July, 1881, Bishop McMullen arrived in Davenport, and received a royal welcome not only from the people of his own church, but from citizens of Davenport generally. After the ceremonies incident to his installation, he took up his abode with Father Cosgrove, who for twenty-five years had been the pastor of St. Marguerite's Church, and after a few days rest began a visitation of his diocese in order to become acquainted with its condition. He speedily placed himself *en rapport*, not only with the clergy, but with the congregations of his diocese, and all became devotedly attached to the good man under whose guidance and through whose

Digitized by Google

well directed efforts the interests of the church were rapidly advanced. The priests of the diocese purchased and presented to him as an episcopal house the beautiful home of Antoine LeClaire,* situated on a historic bluff overlooking the three cities of Davenport, Moline and Rock Island, and numerous other testimonials of their regard came to him from time to time. In five months he visited almost every point in the diocese and confirmed more than six thousand people. The labors which he undertook were too arduous however, to be long endured, and in the first year of his administratorship his health broke down, and after a long continued illness he passed away, on the 4th of July, 1883, mourned by the church and the general public of his diocese, as well as by thousands of Catholics in Chicago and elsewhere, where he was known. When Bishop McMullen began his labors in Davenport he had selected St. Marguerite's as the Cathedral Church, and Rev. Henry Cosgrove, D.D., pastor of that church, as Vicar-general of the diocese. Becoming thus the bishop's chief executive in looking after the affairs of the diocese, a large measure of responsibility for its welfare devolved at once upon Father Cosgrove. He had a more extensive acquaintance throughout the diocese than any other priest, and a more intimate knowledge than any of them of the condition of the various parishes, of the opportunities for church extension and of the educational and charitable work to be looked after.

In his capacity as Vicar-general he was called upon, when Bishop McMullen was stricken with the illness which ended his life, to take charge in great measure of diocesan affairs, and while the good bishop, up to the last hour of his life never lost interest in these affairs, it was Father Cosgrove who received his instructions and executed his plans. Brought thus into a most intimate relationship to the diocese as a whole, and having demonstrated his fitness for the high office of a bishop of the church, by actual performance of many of the duties incident thereto, it was natural that there should have been on the part of the clergy of the diocese a desire that the Rev. Dr. Cosgrove should become successor to Bishop McMullen. A petition to this effect, signed by nearly all the priests of the diocese, was sent to Rome, this being, it is said, the first instance in the history of the church in the United States in which the priests of a diocese petitioned for the appointment of one of their number

* Vide National Magazine, November, 1893.

Digitized by Google

as bishop. It received the favorable consideration of the Cabinet of Cardinals and Father Cosgrove became second bishop of Davenport.

A native of the United States, Bishop Cosgrove was born in Williamsport, Pennsylvania, December 19, 1834. His father, John Cosgrove, was a native of Ireland, who immigrated to this country with his young wife and settled in Pennsylvania in 1830. In 1845 the family removed to Dubuque, Iowa, and it was here that Bishop Henry Cosgrove received his early education. As a boy he was one of the acolytes in the old Cathedral of Dubuque, when Bishop Loras was at the head of the diocese, and his early inclinations were toward the priesthood. When he was fifteen years of age he began the course of study which was to fit him for holy orders under the tutelage of Rev. Joseph Creton, then vicar-general of the diocese of Dubuque, and later first Bishop of the diocese of St. Paul. After the course of study with Father Creton, he went to St. Mary's Seminary in Missouri, where he completed a three years' classical course and then entered the noted seminary at Carondelet, Missouri, where he took a full course in theology. Returning to Dubuque when he had completed his studies, he was ordained priest by Bishop Smyth, coadjutor of Bishop Loras, on the 27th of August, 1857, and a few days later he became assistant pastor of St. Marguerite's church in Davenport. Rev. A. Trevis, who at that time held the pastorate of St. Marguerite's, resigned for a long absence in Europe, and at the end of a few years Father Cosgrove succeeded to the full pastorate, which he held up to the time of his appointment as bishop. During the twenty-five years of his pastoral connection with this church, he shrank from no responsibility, neglected no duty, and overlooked no opportunity to advance the cause to which he had consecrated himself. The church and its schools flourished, large and handsome buildings were erected for their accommodation under his supervision and in many ways the pastor of St. Marguerite's demonstrated that he was a man of superior executive ability, as well as an able preacher. His relations with the non-catholic population of Davenport were of a most friendly character, and his appointment to the vacant bishopric was hailed with delight by Catholics and Protestants alike. When his commission as bishop had been received and duly presented to Archbishop Kendrick at St. Louis, Bishop Cosgrove returned to his home to be greeted by churchmen of his own faith, city officials of Davenport, representatives of various social and business organizations and the public generally, with an enthusiasm

Digitized by Google

which evidenced a remarkable attachment to him in the city with which he had been identified for a quarter of a century. The solemn and impressive ceremony of consecration took place in St. Marguerite's Cathedral on the 14th of September, 1884, and clothed with the full powers of a bishop, Rev. Dr. Cosgrove went forth to carry forward the work of which he had in reality had charge for many months previous to that time. His faithful and efficient labors during his administration are evidenced by the fact that the membership of the Catholic church in this diocese has increased from forty thousand to fifty-six thousand. The number of priests has increased from seventy-nine to one hundred and eight, and the number of churches from one hundred and twenty-one to one hundred and sixty. He has confirmed in all over sixteen thousand persons, and to his energy and resourcefulness the diocese is indebted for some of the handsomest church edifices to be found in the West. As a clergyman of the Catholic faith he is greatly beloved by his priests and people, and as a man, broad-minded and liberal in his ideas, courteous in his intercourse with those who entertain beliefs different from his own, and a potent factor in elevating the moral standard of a large community, he is held in high esteem by all classes of people.

WILLIAM RENWICK.

The half dozen years last past have brought unusual sorrow to Davenport in the loss of several of those strong, self-reliant, and sagacious business men who had been most conspicuous in the industrial life of the city, and who had been largely instrumental in developing its resources, in building up its public institutions, and giving it its present high character and standing among the cities of the west. Wm. Renwick, who was widely known all over the west by reason of his extensive business connections, and still more widely known as a traveler and art collector, was one of those who passed away during this period. The old Scotch family of Renwick is one with a history dating back to the Crusades, when Sir Patrick Renwick was numbered among the valiant defenders of the Cross. During the reign of King James VII., James Renwick, one of the most zealous and intrepid of the Presbyterian preachers of that era, suffered martyrdom at the Cross of Edinburgh, in

Digitized by Google

Wm Penwick

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

1688, and is known in history as the last Protestant martyr in Scotland.

The blood of the Drummond family mingled with that of the Renwicks in later generations, and from this illustrious ancestry descended Hon. James Renwick, a venerable gentleman still living in Davenport. James Renwick married Elizabeth Locherby, whose family connections, the Carruthers, and the Kirkpatricks, of Closeburn, were not less distinguished than his own as representatives of the old Border families of Scotland, notable for their deep seated convictions, profound piety and love of liberty. Of this parentage, William Renwick was born, in Liverpool, England, June 24th, 1829. Inheriting from this ancestry, keen perceptive faculties, courage, self-reliance, thrift and sagacity, he received careful educational and industrial training in early youth, in the city of Liverpool, and in 1846, the year of Iowa's admission into the Union as a state he came with his parents to this country. They settled in Davenport, and Mr. Renwick continued his studies in Iowa College, which was founded in Davenport about that time, and of which he was one of the first students. Here his father engaged in the grain and commission business, and four years later, when he attained his majority, he became a member of the firm of Renwick & Son. The warehouse belonging to this firm, on the levee was the first agency of the American Express Company, and later, the first agency of the United States Express Company, in Davenport. This was during the period antedating the advent of railroads into Iowa, and in those days the Mississippi river was the great avenue of trade in this section. The business of the firm of Renwick & Son followed this and tributary water courses, and extended to St. Louis, New Orleans, Memphis, Vicksburg, Louisville, Cincinnati, Pittsburg and smaller cities, which received through their enterprise, as forwarders, vast quantities of the products of the Mississippi valley. The training, which he received during this early portion of his business career was one well calculated to fit him for the larger and more important enterprises of his later life. It not only gave him a business acquaintance extending over a wide area of country, but made him familiar with the resources as well as the needs of this vast region.

In 1852, the firm became engaged in the lumber trade, first as dealers, and then as manufacturers. In 1854, they built a comparatively small mill, at Davenport, with capacity for an annual output of something like a million feet, and began with others the

Digitized by Google

development of that wonderful system of lumber production, which has supplied the material for building up hundreds of towns and cities, and countless thousands of homes now dotting the prairies of the west. To those unacquainted with the history of this great industry, a brief notice of the method of its development will be of interest. Early explorers of the upper Mississippi river made mention of the magnificent forests which lined the river on either side, but generations came and passed away before these vast forests began to play any important part in the advancement of civilization. Then mills were constructed here and there in the timber region, and the lumber product was distributed to settlements along the river. It was soon discovered, however, that a more expeditious and economical way of marketing the lumber product was to locate the mill in an established trade centre, and to leave to the great river and the forces of nature the work of bringing to the mill its raw material. Then was inaugurated the system of felling trees in vast numbers, carrying them into the river by various devices, forming them into rafts, floating or towing, and later pushing by means of steamboats, which made this their principal business, these rafts down to the mills, from whence the manufactured product was distributed to the interior or elsewere, as the demands of trade required. In 1859, Mr. Renwick became sole proprietor of the mill which he had previously conducted in company with his father, and his genius for operating on a large scale soon became conspicuously apparent. He had a wonderful capacity for organizing large enterprises and a keen foresight, which seemed to amount to an intuitive perception of the trend of industrial development. Recognizing fully the importance of details in the conduct of business enterprises, he had no taste for attention to these details himself, but committed all such matters to subordinates. In the selection of these assistants, an exceptionally good judgment of men, and a happy faculty of correctly estimating their capacities, enabled him to place his minor interests always in safe hands, while he gave his whole time and attention to more important matters. From the time he assumed control and management of the business, it expanded with wonderful rapidity, his sagacious investments developed into a handsome fortune, and in 1875, he sought relaxation from his arduous and exacting labors through the organization of a partnership, under which the firm became Renwick, Shaw & Crossett. Increasing the capacity of the mill, this firm continued its operation until 1885, when the

Digitized by Google

partnership was dissolved, the partners giving their attention thereafter to the extensive interest which they had acquired in the pineries. When released from the cares of active business, in a measure, Mr. Renwick turned his attention to travel and to the gratification of an inherent love of the beautiful in art, as well as nature. Married first, in 1855, to Miss Cynthia Seymour, of Davenport, he traveled much with his family, both in this country and abroad, until 1877, when Mrs. Renwick died. In 1879, he married Miss Helen P. Goodwin, of Akron, Ohio, a lady of culture and intelligence, who shared with him the extensive travels of his later life. Mr. and Mrs. Renwick first became acquainted while traveling abroad, and a similarity of tastes led to their spending much of their time in the old world, and their only son, a lad now seven years of age, was born in Berlin.

In the course of their travels, many of the art treasures of Europe were collected and transferred to their beautiful residence, in Davenport, serving to make it one of the most notable homes in the State of Iowa, and the charming cordiality with which those entering this home were received, was always one of its chief attractions. Courteous in manner, entertaining in conversation, and generous in his impulses, Mr. Renwick made warm and lasting friendships, and was particularly happy in his domestic life.

While his business operations extended over a vast territory, he was ever mindful of the best interests of Davenport, and thoroughly identified with its material upbuilding. He was one of the organizers of the Davenport Board of Trade, and served three years as its president. One of the incorporators of the company which built the first street railway in Davenport, he was a director of the corporation many years, and vice-president a portion of that time. He was interested in the Davenport National Bank, and served as a director of that institution twenty years. The Davenport Woolen Mills, and the Lindsay Land and Lumber Company, were other enterprises with which he was identified, and he was at the time of his death an active member of the Davenport Business Men's Association. Immediately after his death, which occurred on the 12th of January, 1889, the last named association, thoroughly representative of the city, adopted resolutions setting forth that in the death of Mr. Renwick, Davenport had lost one of its builders, and that "to the life of the deceased, both public and private, the city owed a large degree of its growth and prosperity." For many years he

Digitized by Google

was a stockholder and director in the Central Union Telephone Company, of Chicago, and the representatives of that corporation also paid a warm tribute to his moral worth and high character as a business man. He was a member and liberal contributor to the famous Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, and his church affiliations were with the First Presbyterian Church of Davenport, of which, from early manhood to the day of his death, he was an honored member.

TO WASHINGTON.

How grandly single stands our Washington !
  Or after, or before, none nobler rose ;
He, blessed in home and fortune, hies him on
  To lead embattled hosts, and brave war's woes.
  Trusting in God, though dark the prospect grows ;
Wise, manly, virtuous, e'er his country's stay ;
  Censured by friends, and villified by foes,
He firm remained, nor thought of giving way ;
And when the cause was won, scorned Power's alluring sway.

LEONARD IRVING.

Digitized by Google

NEWARK, N. J., INCORPORATED.—II.

SOME OF ITS PUBLIC MEN.

In 1836, when Newark was incorporated as a city, its population was 19,732. The previous year had been one of extraordinary prosperity. Its whaling company had sent out an expedition which subsequently returned with 3,000 barrels of oil and 15,000 pounds of bone. The exports of the town to the southern ports of the United States, South America, and the West Indies exceeded eight million of dollars, and these exports consisted chiefly of the manufactured goods produced in its numerous factories. So great had been the increase of population that new streets were laid out in every direction, large numbers of buildings of every description were erected, and real estate advanced in value beyond all precedent. Alas, the crash came in 1837. Banks and factories toppled and fell, capitalists ate in tears, and workmen begged upon the streets. Newark lost more than 2,000 of its population, as its census three years afterwards proved. All this, however, and far more, it regained during the next five years, and went onward, prospering and to prosper, until the periodic panic in financial affairs came again in 1857. It was a repetition of the old story —broken banks, railroad wrecks, dilapidated factories, bankrupt capitalists and starving laborers. In 1859 the skies cleared and business resumed its wonted course throughout the land. The carriage manufacturers, the shoe shops, the harness makers, the clothiers and the hundreds of other artisans were once more as busy as ever in sending their productions to the people of the southern states who were the principal customers for their wares. In less than two years, however, Newark's workshops were once more shut up, and instead of her products, she was now sending to the south armed regiments to stay hands that had been raised in rebellion against the Constitution and the Union. Newark appreciated the ruin that stared her in the face at the commencement of this civil strife, but she met bravely the demands upon her patriotism. Her merchants, her manufacturers and her pro-

Digitized by Google

fessional men stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight; and when her scarred veterans returned to their homes, the places of those whom they left behind them were rapidly filled up by comrades from every portion of the land, who became numbered among her most valued citizens. Of more of these, as well as of those who went directly from Newark to the battle-field, reckless of every thing save the preservation of their country, we hope to speak hereafter.

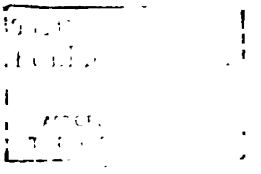
ALLAN LEE BASSETT.

Allan Lee Bassett, a soldier in the War of the Rebellion, an able editor and writer, a successful financier, was born near Birmingham, Conn., February 28, 1827. His ancestors were of old Puritan stock, William Bassett, the first of the name in America, having arrived at New Plymouth, November 11th, 1621, in the "small ship Fortune," which sailed one year after the Mayflower, bringing such families and parts of families as could not be comfortably accommodated in the latter named vessel. His ancestors were no less distinguished on the side of his mother, Nancy Lee, a lineal descendant in the sixth generation, of John Eliot, the Apostle, who emigrated in 1631 from England to Massachusetts, where he made himself famous, not only for his learning and his labors and sufferings as a missionary, but also for the fact that he was the first settler in America who essayed to establish a republic upon its shores.

The parents of the subject of this sketch desired to educate him for one of the learned professions, as in the case of his brothers, Eliot and Benjamin, both of whom were graduated from Yale College, the one subsequently becoming a minister and the other a physician. Young Bassett was accordingly sent to Hopkins' Grammar School, where he received a thorough preparation for a college career. His enterprising spirit and urgent desire to take part in the busy scenes of life could not, however, brook the delay which must attend the necessary preparation for admission to the legal profession, as was the intention of his parents. Accordingly, at the age of eighteen, he went to New York city, where in due time he began the life of a merchant and a manufacturer. For twenty years he conducted business successfully in that city, making Brooklyn his place of residence. When the

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

first sounds of an approaching conflict between the North and South were heard, he was fired with a desire to take a part in the contest. With his characteristic zeal he organized a military company, which became known as the Brooklyn Greys, and of which he was made captain. On offering his services to the government, this spirited body of soldiers was attached, under the name of Company D, to the 23d Regiment, National Guard of N. Y. At its head Captain Bassett marched to the seat of war early in 1863, and especially at Gettysburg, and in the riots at New York, he displayed the courage and activity for which he had been noted from boyhood. With no ambition for military position, he remained at the head of his company until the close of the war when he retired as simply Captain Bassett, a title that clung to him throughout the remainder of his life.

On returning to his home in Brooklyn, he disposed of his business in New York, resigned his commission in the regiment, and, with his family removed to Irvington, a suburb of the city of Newark, N. J. The quiet life which he here began to lead found its enjoyment chiefly in books and study, but unable to content himself with being a mere consumer, it was not long before he fixed upon a plan to make his reading aud study profitable to others as well as pleasing to himself. This was effected by the establishment of a periodical, to which he gave the name of the Northern Monthly and New Jersey Magazine, and of which he was the editor and sole proprietor. It made its first appearance in May, 1866, and met with a hearty welcome. Its editorial department gives abundant evidence of Captain Bassett's literary culture as well as of his good taste and gracefulness as a writer. Two years of close application in the editorial chair, after several years of toil and excitement in the camp and field, did not, however, prove to be the rest which he anticipated. Finding that he must abandon the pen, for which he had exchanged the sword, he finally sold the magazine to the Putnams of New York, and it was thereafter published as "Putnam's Magazine and Northern Monthly."

Believing that an occupation which could afford him exercise in the open air would be beneficial to him, he engaged, soon after abandoning the editorial chair in 1870, in the real estate business. The financial panic which took place during the following two years drove all land speculators from the market, and with them went his occupation as well as a large share of his earnings. On the return

Digitized by Google

of better times, he undertook, in 1875, the reorganization of the Prudential Friendly Society, and formed the Prudential Insurance Company, now one of the most important institutions of its kind in the country. He became its first president, and largely through his efforts, the company was placed upon the basis which made possible the wonderful success which has attended all its operations. But differences of opinion arising in the conduct of its affairs, he withdrew in 1879 and soon afterwards associated himself with the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York as Superintendent, a position which he occupied throughout the remainder of his life, making Newark his residence.

Though a staunch Republican in politics, and for several years chairman of the Essex County Republican Committee, Captain Bassett never sought public office. Nevertheless, he was always among the foremost in enterprises whose aim was the welfare of the community in which he dwelt. Of the Board of Trade of the city of Newark he was a prominent and influential member, and so great was the confidence of this body in him as a leader that he was elected as its president for four terms, an honor without precedent in its history. He was also a member of the Washington Association, which was established for the purpose of purchasing and preserving Washington's headquarters at Morristown, N. J. In the New Jersey Historical Society he also manifested much interest, and labored zealously to secure a fire-proof building for its valuable collections. From early life he was an earnest consistent Christian, active in every good word and work. His genial nature endeared him to every one who knew him, and his wonderful energy and executive abilities gave him prominence in every movement, public or private, in which he took part. He died at Newark, N. J., December 14, 1892.

At a meeting of the Board of Trade held in his memory, Hon. Cortlandt Parker said: "To be with the board on this occasion is a positive duty in view of my own long life here in Newark, of my knowledge of him, and my belief of what the city owes to his unaffected but fearless advocacy of what he thought was right. He was nothing but as a citizen and he was everything that a citizen should be. He was never chosen for public office, but where is the man who devised so much for the benefit of this city? Where is the man of whom it can be said that his thoughts were always on what would enhance the prosperity, the fame too and the good order and value of the city in which we live? I know of no man who was his equal in this respect; certainly I know of no man who was his superior."

In December, 1853, Captain Bassett married Caroline Phillips, daughter of John Phillips, M.D., of Bristol, Pa. Six children were

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

Edmund L. Joy

Digitized by Google

the fruit of this union, but the wife and four children died, during his residence in Brooklyn, between 1855 and 1865. The survivors are Allena, wife of Rev. John Balcom Shaw, D.D., of New York city, and Carrol Phillips Bassett, of Newark, N. J. He married a second time, 1866, Mrs. Annie S. Richards, of New York city, who still survives.

EDMUND L. JOY.

In 1630, ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, John Winthrop, who in the previous year had been elected governor of Massachusetts Bay, sailed thither from Yarmouth, England, with a colony of 900 persons. In this great company was one Thomas Joy, the first American ancestor of the subject of this sketch. From him sprang a numerous progeny now scattered throughout New England and the Middle States. One of his descendants was Nathaniel Joy, who made an enviable record as a soldier in the War of the Revolution, leaving a number of children, of whom one was Charles Joy, who in 1833, married Harriet Shaw, a descendant of Anthony Stoddard, an emigrant from England in 1639. These were the parents of Edmund L. Joy, who was born in Albany, N. Y., October 1, 1835. Mr. Charles Joy removed to Newark, N. J., in 1855, and here he engaged in a very extensive wholesale provision business, which he conducted with great success until 1873, when he died.

Edmund L. Joy, his son, was denied none of the advantages of education which a generous and prosperous father could afford. His preparatory training was received in Albany at Anthony's Classical Institute, and the Albany Academy. Subsequently he entered the University of Rochester, from which institution having been graduated, he began the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar of New York in 1857. Soon thereafter he removed to Ottumwa, Iowa, where he established himself in the practice of his profession. So great was his success, that before the expiration of three years he received the appointment of city attorney, an office which he continued to hold until the breaking out of the War of the Rebellion. This event aroused the patriotism inherited from revolutionary sires. Laying aside his briefs and law books, he at once offered his services to the cause of the Union, and became very active in the work of raising troops, and otherwise aiding the government in the west. His

Digitized by Google

zeal was not, however, confined to urging others into the field—he determined also to enter it himself. This resolution was received with acclaim by those with whom he had been associated in his labors, and in recognition of his valuable services, he was given a captaincy in the Thirty-sixth Regiment of Iowa Infantry, and in 1862 was mustered into the United States service. For two years he served with great activity in the field, leading his company not only upon long and dangerous expeditions, but on many occasions into encounters with the enemy. During the Vicksburg campaign he was with the Yazoo Pass Expedition. In 1864 he was appointed by President Lincoln Major and Judge-advocate, United States Volunteers, and assigned to duty in the Seventh Army Corps, commanded by Major-General Frederick Steele. Subsequently he was made Judge-advocate of the Department of the Arkansas, with headquarters at Little Rock. In this capacity he had much to do in the administration of justice in that rebel state, as well as in the Indian territory which was also within his jurisdiction. In this service he labored diligently two years, and in addition to his official duties gave valuable aid in the organization of a state government under a new constitution for the state of Arkansas.

Broken down in health by his arduous labors, and almost blind, Colonel Joy had little inclination to resume the practice of his profession at Ottumwa, when the war had come to an end. Rest and change of occupation were demands to which he could not turn a deaf ear, and, accordingly, he bent his way to Newark, N. J., the home of his father. That neither the sword nor the forum were essential to his usefulness or prosperity, soon became evident, and the result was the acceptance of an offer of partnership in his father's business. The partnership existed until 1873, when the father died, and thereafter the business was continued by Colonel Joy during the remainder of his life.

It was not surprising that he should, by reason of his intellectual gifts, his superior attainments and varied experience, have attracted the attention and won the confidence of his fellow citizens. While yet but six years a citizen of New Jersey he was in 1871, elected a member of the state Legislature. Re-elected in the following year, he filled the important position of Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, wherein his legal knowledge and effectiveness as a speaker enabled him to render valuable service to the State. In 1877 he was elected a member of the Board of Education of the city of

Digitized by Google

Newark and held this position until the close of 1888, serving as president of that body during the years 1885, '86 and '87, when he declined a re-election. Of Newark's Board of Trade he was an early and active member, being its presiding officer in 1875 and 1876, and its treasurer from 1879 to the time of his death. In 1880 he was a delegate to the National Republican Convention, which nominated James A. Garfield for the Presidency. In 1884 and 1885, by appointment of President Arthur, he served as a government director of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. His extensive business operations, and his well known abilities as a business man made him prominent in matters affecting the financial interests of the city in which he lived, and often placed him in positions of great responsibility.

Colonel Joy was a man of deep religious conviction. He was of an active and energetic temperament, and endowed with a mind practical and comprehensive in its conceptions, strong and tenacious in its grasp on affairs, excellent in judgment and wonderful in its power of analysis. The ability to express his thoughts in language at once accurate and elegant, was with him a gift rather than an attainment. He was distinguished for the brilliancy and force of his utterances made under the inspiration of the moment, and in the exercise of his powers along these lines, upon the many and various occasions that have arisen in his active life, gained for himself an enviable reputation as a public speaker. He was a racy and genial companion, "a zealous patriot, a gallant soldier, a scholar and a Christian gentleman."

In 1862, he married Theresa R., daughter of the late Homer L. Thrall, M. D., of Columbus, Ohio, an eminent physician and profound scholar, who was for many years a professor in Kenyon College, and subsequently in Starling Medical College.

Colonel Joy died at Newark, February 14, 1892, and besides his widow, left surviving him two sons, Edmund Steele and Homer Thrall, and one daughter, Harriet Shaw, wife of Robert D. Martin, of Chicago.

Digitized by Google

JAMES M. QUIMBY.

James Moses Quimby was of Colonial descent. His earliest American ancestor was William Quimby, who came to this country from England in the early part of the seventeenth century, and settled in Wethersfield, Conn. From this place he, with the Rev. Adam Brakeman, and others, went forth into the wilderness in search of suitable lands for a new settlement, and, in 1651, laid the foundation of the town of Stratford. John, son of William Quimby, was one of the original patentees of the town of Westchester, N. Y., and was one of the two deputies from that town to the Assembly convened in 1665, at Hempstead, L. I., by Governor Nicolls, to promulgate the "Duke's Laws." The Quimbys of Westchester county were Quakers; but when Moses Quimby, the grandfather of James M. Quimby, removed thence to Orange, N. J., he joined the Presbyterian Church. His son Jotham, father of John M. Quimby, married Lilias Smith, daughter of James Smith, a representative in blood of both Robert Treat and Jasper Crane, thus giving to the subject of this sketch the right to claim descent from two of the most distinguished of Newark's earliest settlers.

James M. Quimby was born October 5, 1804, in the old stone mansion, upon the farm which afterwards came into his possession in Orange, N. J. Upon this farm he passed his boyhood, and would, doubtless, have become a farmer himself, had he possessed less activity of mind and less repugnance to a life of easy obscurity. He was a studious boy, losing no opportunity to acquire learning, though his highest ambition seemed to be the career of a successful business man. After completing the curriculum of the South Orange Columbian School, of which his father was a trustee, he expressed a desire to become a carriage manufacturer, a business which in that day ranked almost as one of the fine arts, and which, indeed, sent forth from Newark several distinguished artists. In accordance with his wishes, he was apprenticed at the age of seventeen to Robert B. Canfield, one of Newark's most prosperous carriage builders, and most estimable citizens. Faithful service and industry as an apprentice brought its reward when he became a journeyman in the establishment of G. & A. K. Carter, into which he entered on the expiration of his term of apprenticeship. Here he soon showed

Digitized by Google

so much taste and skill in his workmanship, and gained so rapidly the confidence of his employers, that he was placed in charge as foreman of their extensive works.

From a mere foremanship in the shops, Mr. Quimby rose eventually to the position of general superintendent and confidential clerk. This we gather from his private journal, which he kept at that time, and continued to keep, with great regularity for many years, and which, while highly interesting, gives us an insight into his character that would have been otherwise difficult to obtain. In this journal we have a glimpse of the panic that prevailed between 1832 and 1834, as a result of the disturbances throughout the country caused by the war upon the United States Bank, and the threats of South Carolina to secede from the Union. In 1833, the failure of numerous mercantile and manufacturing houses took place, chiefly on account of a lack of confidence in the stability of national affairs. Among these failures was that of G. & A. K. Carter, with whom Mr. Quimby had been connected during the last eight or nine years. They effected, however, a compromise with their creditors which enabled them to carry on their business, and finally to make an advantageous disposition of it. Mr. Quimby, though still a young man, with no large amount of capital, purchased in 1834 their stock of goods, and entered upon business in his own name. To the customers of the old firm he was already so well and favorably known that he had no difficulty in retaining their patronage, and therefore, soon found himself engaged in extensive and lucrative operations. In 1848 the business had so largely increased that Mr. Quimby admitted partners, and thereafter it was conducted under the name of J. M. Quimby & Co.

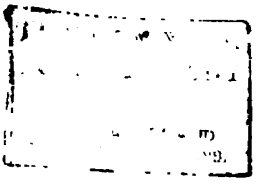
Throughout his long business career of forty years Mr. Quimby's credit remained unimpaired. In seasons of financial depression, while many were failing around him, he was able to maintain his ground, though, at times, a great sufferer through the misfortunes of others, and he finally died possessed of an ample fortune. With a heart overflowing with kindness; with manners the most gentle and unassuming; with a mind well stored with varied knowledge, he was not only attractive as a companion, but desirable and respected as a friend and counselor. It is not surprising that the people of Newark should have seen in him a man worthy to be trusted with their interests, and it was not surprising in 1849, that he should have been easily elected Mayor of the city, although not

Digitized by Google

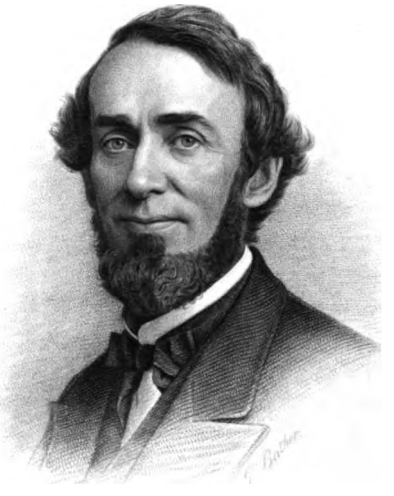
then a member of the dominant political party. In this office he served faithfully and effectively during two terms, bringing about many important public improvements, among which were the grading and paving of the principal thoroughfares, lighting the streets with gas, and erecting a commodious public market. In 1860 he was elected a member of the State Senate for Essex county, and for three years in this position served the commonwealth with marked ability, exercising an important influence upon legislation by reason of his excellent judgment and inflexible honesty. It was during this period that Newark manufacturers suffered such losses in the southern states on account of the Rebellion. Of course, Mr. Quimby suffered with others, but his operations were so extended, reaching even into Mexico, South America, the West Indies, England and France, that he was not seriously injured by the loss of his southern patrons, or by their abusive and threatening letters.

Several of the prominent financial institutions of Newark number Mr. Quimby among their founders and once active directors. While in matters of charity, he always extended a helping hand, he seemed to take a special delight in rendering aid to those about to engage in commendable enterprises, or in commencing business, or to those who, through misfortune, had been embarrassed, and were known to him as worthy of assistance. Though he made no parade of religion, his private journal, already spoken of, gives abundant evidence that from early youth he was a sincere and devout Christian. For many years he was a vestryman of Trinity Church, Newark, N. J., and continued in that office until his death, which occurred July 20, 1874. He left behind him one son and four daughters, himself a widower at the time.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google



J. C. Buttre

Digitized by Google

EARLY AMERICAN ENGRAVERS.

JOHN CHESTER BUTTRE.

John Chester Buttre was well known as a publisher and engraver, and especially as a pioneer in the very delicate operations of modern steel-plate work. But it was his personal character which was especially admirable. His life furnished a striking instance where the man was far more than his achievements. Only the mere suggestion of this can be outlined here, but it was the unique charm and real and rare worth of personal character which will always be cherished in the hearts of those who knew him best.

Mr. Buttre was of Scotch descent. His father, William Buttre, was born in Perthshire, Scotland, August 9, 1782, and died in New York city, on the 2d of October, 1864. His mother, Mary Ann Lathrop, was born at Fairfield, Herkimer county, New York, on the 23d day of April, 1800, and died at her son's home, in Ridgewood, New Jersey, May 7, 1882.

John Chester Buttre was born at Auburn, New York, June 10, 1821. His early education was received in the crude district schools of that day, and later at Auburn Academy. Almost at once he developed a talent for drawing. Says Appleton's "Cyclopædia of American Biography": "The first drawing lessons he received were from one Hulanski, a Polish exile residing in Auburn; and afterward, while assisting his father, he devoted his leisure to the study of portrait painting. In the practice of this art he was assisted by friends; but he did not succeed as well with colors as in drawing. His first attempt in this line was a series of small penny toy-primers. By degrees the work progressed and in time he did the business of a general engraver, including card-plates, wood-cuts, and various kinds of simple work. In 1841, he removed to New York, and thereafter gave his attention to steel-plate engraving. His productions were soon in demand, and appeared in many of the magazines."

It is not exaggeration to say that Mr. Buttre was at the very head of his profession, and was the most widely known of the publishing engravers and plate-printers of America. He executed a number of individual engravings which had an almost unprecedented sale and brought him great reputation. Among these, mentioned in Apple-

Digitized by Google

ton's Cyclopædia, was a full-length portrait of President Buchanan, issued in 1858, and which was then regarded as one of the best specimens of that kind of work ; a similar full-length portrait of Martha Washington, which also had a large sale ; and such war scenes (issued while the Rebellion was in progress) as "The Empty Sleeve," "Only a little Brook," and the "Good Morning Prayer in Camp." He also, says the "New York Sun," during the Civil War, "brought out engravings of Lincoln, Grant, Lee, Jackson, McClellan, Burnside, and other celebrities," of which "the aggregate sale amounted to several million copies." After the news of Lincoln's assassination, his office was besieged by hundreds desirous to secure the martyred President's portrait.

Mr. Buttre contributed some original ideas to the development of his art, among which was a special process known only to himself, whereby he was enabled to impart to his pictures what has been well described as a "special life-like tint, which has, perhaps, never been excelled in the history of steel engraving." He also made a specialty, later in life, of mezzo-tints, and won considerable reputation through this style of work. An especially noteworthy service was his restoration, in May, 1885, of the original diploma plate of the Society of the Cincinnati. Mr. Buttre's father had been an officer in the war of 1812, and he was naturally, therefore, interested in this memorial society of the older Revolution.

The diploma plate in question was of copper, and had been made in 1783–4, by J. J. Lebeau, of Paris, France. The minutes of the Secretary-General, Asa Bird Gardiner, of the Society of the Cincinnati, gave the story of this restoration, as follows : "The plate was found to be very badly corroded—so much so that several first-class engravers refused to undertake its restoration, and declared that it was totally ruined. . . . Through Mr. Drowne,* the services of his friend, Mr. John Chester Buttre, the eminent bank-note and portrait engraver were enlisted. This gentleman, from motives of patriotism and personal friendship, devoted many days to the restoration of this plate, and to the surprise of those cognizant of the difficulties of such an undertaking, has succeeded perfectly and by an exhibition of very great mechanical skill and talent has restored the plate so that it can again be used. His charges for this labor are merely nominal, for necessary disbursements, and it is suggested

* Assistant Treasurer-General of the Society of the Cincinnati, and also President of the National Fire Insurance Company in the City of New York.

Digitized by Google

that he is entitled to the thanks of the General Society of the Cincinnati."

But perhaps the best known work of Mr. Buttre, and certainly that which will prove of most enduring value, is "The American Portrait Gallery." Of this work he was the publisher, as well as the maker of the portraits, while his daughter, Lillian C. Buttre, prepared the letter-press accompanying the engravings. The work has been issued in thirty parts, each of which contains six fine portraits on steel and twelve pages of letter-press, and has been sold at the popular price of fifty cents per part. The design was to include only those "who stand forth to the world as emphatically the representatives of our country."

Mr. Buttre died at his home in Ridgewood, New Jersey, on the 2nd of December, 1893. It has already been hinted that the rare charms of his personal character were more remarkable than even the unique pre-eminence which he enjoyed in his profession. His kindness of heart was simply boundless; and his unswerving faith in human nature to the day of his death, notwithstanding that his benevolent spirit had made him again and again the victim of imposition and ingratitude, was a never-ceasing marvel, to his friends and business associates. Uprightness and benevolence were so entirely the warp and the woof of his own character, that he really could not conceive of such a thing as calculating dishonesty and knavery.

Even though one had wronged him again and again, or drawn upon his bounty repeatedly, in the most heartless and calculating manner, it made no difference to him. The first signs of distress, real or feigned, led him to repeat his former kindness, even if he practiced the most rigid self-denial in order to thus minister to others, or even borrowed from some friend for the purpose. The beauty of character he displayed was as rare as the most precious gems of the earth, and the friends who knew him and loved him will look in vain, we fear, for such another.

It will be pleasing to many to learn that the business, conducted for fifty-five years by Mr. Buttre, will be continued by his daughter, Mary F. Buttre, under incorporation as the "J. C. Buttre Company," assisted by Mr. George Probst as Superintendent, who has been connected with the business for thirty years, and whose relations with Mr. Buttre, beyond their business association, took on the warmth of intimate personal friendship.

Digitized by Google

A YOUNG SOLDIER OF 1861.

We publish as a frontispiece in this issue an engraving of a young soldier equipped in response to his country's call to arms. It is an ideal embodiment of youthful heroism and patriotism which, although more than thirty years have passed since it was to many of us a familiar and pathetic figure, has still lost little of its inspiring potency. It would be difficult to find a better illustration of this theme than in the youthful grace and manliness, the courage and enthusiasm, depicted in the figure and face of this young soldier; and yet the engraving which we present is no mere ideal, but an exact reproduction from a portrait of General Wm. E. Strong, taken soon after his enlistment in the service in the late war. He was not yet twenty-one years of age at the time the photograph was taken. It is difficult to remember that those heroes of a generation ago were such boys in years.

But beyond the striking and inspiring personality shown in the engraving, General Strong may well be considered as fittingly representing the ideal type of the young soldier—who heard the first bugle note of the call to arms only to answer it, equipped for the conflict and ready for whatever might be the issue. He was the Western brother of those boys of the 7th Regiment, who marched down Broadway that memorable day in April, 1861, the very spirit of which incident Curtis reproduces so graphically in the Introduction to "Cecil Dreeme:"

> On Friday afternoon the 19th of April, 1861, I stood on the corner of Cortlandt Street and saw the regiment march away . . . . b essed and wept over by a great city. Mothers' eyes glistened at the windows upon the glistening bayonets of their boys below. The music beat and rang and clashed in the air, Marching to death or victory or defeat, it mattered not. They marched for Justice, and God was their captain.

It was of such young men as these that Lowell wrote those never-to-be-forgotten lines in the "Commemoration Ode."

> Many loved Truth, and lavished life's best oil
> Amid the dust of books to find her,
> Content at last for guerdon of their toil,
> With the cast mantle she hath left behind her.
> Many in sad faith sought for her,
> Many with crossed hand sighed for her;
> But these our brothers fought for her,
> At life's dear peril wrought for her;

Digitized by Google

Their higher instincts knew
Those love her best who to themselves are true,
And what they dare to dream of, dare to do;
They followed her and found her
Where all may hope to find,
Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
But beautiful with danger's sweetness round her.

Our intention began and ended with giving to our readers the "counterfeit presentment" of this ideal young soldier. Elsewhere in the pages of this magazine,* Mr. Conard has given an interesting account of General Strong's early life, his war record and his civil services and distinction. It seems suitable here to say briefly that he was born at Granville, New York, in August, 1840, and in his veins flowed the blood of ancient English stock which flourished at Taunton, England. His immediate ancestor in this country was the staunch Puritan, "Elder" John Strong, who came over among the earliest settlers in 1630. Elder Strong settled at Northampton, Massachusetts, which remained the family seat for several generations. Among the various branches which have spread out from this point into nearly every State of the Union, have been many notable names which have dignified and enriched the history of our country. In later life, General Strong made his home in Chicago, where in 1867 he married Mary Bostwick Ogden, daughter of Mahlon D. Ogden, one of the pioneer settlers of that now world-famed city.

General Strong was a conspicuous citizen of Chicago, figuring in the direction of great financial enterprises, and concerned in all its public interests. Few men in that city have been esteemed as he has been for the lovable qualities that attracted and held securely the warmest personal friendships, as well as for those which go to make up the high-minded and public-spirited citizen whom all delight to honor.

* The National Magazine, November, 1891.

Digitized by Google

AN OLD HOLLAND FAMILY.

CHAUNCEY S. TRAUX.

The Pilgrims, as is well known, were separatists from the English Church, who for conscience sake and the enjoyment of religious liberty had settled in Holland. By accident they came to New England, having set forth from Leyden to colonize Virginia. It is not so well known that refugees of the reformed faith from other countries had resorted to the same place, and that a Protestant Walloon and French church flourished in Leyden at the same time with John Robinson's congregation. Still less is it understood that they also desired to emigrate to America and form a colony in Virginia; nor that, frustrated in this design, many of them also touched the new continent further north and settled in New Netherland, afterward New York.

Such was the case, and among these Walloon and French pilgrims were Philippe Du Trieux and Susanna De Chiney, his wife. The names would indicate a French origin since the two are found as names of adjacent hamlets in France. Yet there is also a *faubourg* Du Trieux in Namur, in the Walloon country of Belgium.

A leading man among these Walloon and French Protestants was Jesse de Forest, who with his three brothers and other refugees, appears to have come to Leyden from La Câteau of Avesnes, province of Hainault, in the Walloon country, about the year 1600. He had a special license "to dye serges and camlets in colors." His wife was Marie du Cloux. They had five children, three of whom, Hendrik, Rachel and Isaac found their way to New Amsterdam.

The Pilgrims sailed in 1620. In the following year the Walloon petition, signed by Jesse de Forest and others, was forwarded to the British sovereign through Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador to the Hague, praying for permission to settle in Virginia. This document recites as follows:

"My Lord, the Ambassador of the Most Serene King of Great Britain, is most humbly supplicated to advise and reply to us on the following articles:

"1. Firstly, will his Majesty be pleased to permit fifty or sixty families, Walloons as well as French, all of the reformed religion,

Digitized by Google

Chauncey F. Truax

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Digitized by Google

to settle in Virginiâ, a country under his obedience, and will he be pleased to protect and defend them from and against all and maintain them in their religion."

The six articles following ask for an armed vessel to assist in transporting nearly three hundred persons, with cattle and means of husbandry, and afterwards to ply between the settlement and the old country. They desire permission to build a town with defenses upon any unoccupied ground, with grant of "bauliess" or territory for eight miles on every side; also with right to elect their governor and magistrates, and right to fish, hunt and cut timber. In turn they promise to trade exclusively with the London Ware-house, and "render all fealty."

Sir Dudley Carleton endorsed the paper as follows:

"Supplicâon of certaine
Walloons and French
who are desirous to
goe into Virginia."

George Calvert referred the matter to the King, who referred it to the "Company of Virginea," whose directors report themselves as having given "so fine an answer as we consider they will resolve to go." However, as certain unwelcome conditions were imposed, and no ship furnished, the Walloons thought differently. Still some of these people adhered to their purpose of coming to America; but the emigration, now by families instead of a compact colony, was diverted from Virginia to New York. Among the first it would appear, who sailed from Leyden in March, 1623, was Philippe Du Trieux, whose name is modified in the Dutch records to Philip de Truy. Certain it is that he was in New Amsterdam in 1624 to 1629. Under the administration of Peter Minuet, he became Court Messenger or Marshal. Three years after his arrival came the sons of Jesse de Forest, Hendrik with his bride, and Isaac, a young man only twenty years of age. Dr. Jean De La Montagne with Rachel de Forest his wife, arrived the following year, the spring of 1627.

Philippe Du Trieux received a patent for lands and resided in "Smit's valley," north side of the present Pearl street, between Maiden Lane and the old ferry. Among the first children, if not indeed the very first white child born on Manhattan Island, was his daughter Sara, married June 9, 1641, according to the Dutch Church records, to Isaac de Forest. From this pair have descended numerous families of the name in New York, Connecticut and

Digitized by Google

elsewhere. Philippe Du Trieux had also a son Isaac born in New Amsterdam, April 21, 1642. He married Maria, daughter of William Brouwer, of Albany, and settled on the "second flat," south side of the Mohawk, in the present town of Rotterdam, as early as 1670. This appears from his petition, in which he is joined by one Jacobus Peek, to Governor Andros concerning this grant of land, which was confirmed to him. This Isaac Trieux, or Truy, or Truax, had three sons who became heads of large families, namely Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. At some early date the patronymic was changed to Truax, but the Christian names were retained, continued, repeated and reduplicated in the various lines of the Truax family in and about Schenectady, till the Abrahams, Isaacs and Jacobs of their genealogical tree make one's head swim. (See Pearson's History of Schenectady.)

However, there was a break in the patriarchal rotation at last, so that the grandfather of the subject of this sketch was Henry D. and his father, Henry Phillip Truax, both born in Oneida county.

Mr. Chauncey S. Truax, one of the most successful lawyers of New York City, and recently elected (November 7, 1893) a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state of New York, was born at Durhamville, Oneida County, New York, on the 11th day of March, 1854. His illustrious ancestry, with the origin of the family name, has been already outlined. He is the youngest of three brothers, all of whom have attained distinction in their respective professions in this city.

Mr. Truax received his early education in the public schools and at Oneida Seminary. He then entered the classical course at Hamilton College and was graduated in the class of 1875. He won distinction throughout his studies, securing high honors, and being awarded the prize for oratory on Commencement Day. Moreover, during his entire course he displayed such all-round scholarship and literary brilliancy as attracted the special attention of the faculty of the College. This was soon demonstrated.

In July, 1877, the Rev. Dr. Washburne, president of the famous Robert College of Constantinople, came to America, desirous among other things, to fill the vacant chair of Commercial and International Law in his institution. He appointed a conference with one professor each from the chief colleges of the country, who were to propose one man each from their respective institutions. Mr. Truax was nominated from Hamilton College, a· ·lected by Dr. Washburne.

Digitized by Google

It should be said that the two years since he finished his course at Hamilton had been spent by Mr. Truax in study in the Law School of Columbia College, and that he had just graduated from the latter institution with the degree of LL. B., in June, 1877, when he received the appointment to the professorship at Robert College.

Robert College, which has been styled the Oxford of the Orient, was founded during the Crimean War by the well known New York merchant and philanthropist, Christopher R. Robert, and was designed to provide for oriental students the same educational advantages which are afforded by the great colleges of America and Western Europe. At the time of Professor Truax's incumbency there were some three hundred students, mostly Orientals, in attendance at this unique university.

Mr. Truax retained the professorship at Constantinople for a year and a half. The opportunity was of course a magnificent one for the prosecution of his own studies and research in history and ancient law. Here was the central scene of two-thirds of the action of that great drama in history, described in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Nor was Professor Truax's study of the Roman wars wanting in a rather suggestive flavor of reality, since the Turko-Russian war was actually in progress about the city at this time. When the Russians marched against Constantinople, and bombarded the ancient capital, the roar of the artillery was heard daily at the College.

The College itself was romantically situated. Mahomet II., who had captured Constantinople in 1453, built two great fortresses, one called Anatoli Hissar ("Eastern Castle") on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, and the other, called Roumeli Hissar ("Castle of the Romans"), directly opposite on the European side. Upon a promontory immediately adjacent to the last named fortress, Robert College was situated.

In prosecuting his studies Professor Truax explored much classic ground for himself. He visited the ruins of Nicæa where the famous church council was held, went over the ground at Broussa, the the first capital of the Turkish Empire, which lies at the foot of Bithynian Olympus, and ascended that magnificent mountain. He also visited the famous points in Greece, Marathon, Platæa, etc., and of course Athens and the Bay of Salamis. Dr. Schliemann was then making his famous excavations on the site of ancient Troy, and Professor Truax went over this ground, Homer in

Digitized by Google

hand, besides seeing much of the great Schliemann himself in Athens.

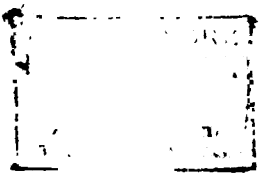
Returning to New York city in October, 1878, broadened in mind by his experiences in the East, Mr. Truax entered at once upon the practice of his profession. In 1890, the firm of Truax & Crandall was formed, the latter being his faithful assistant of previous years. The professional success of Mr. Truax has been little short of remarkable. He is the attorney for a half-dozen large corporations and a number of banking institutions. He was one of the counsel in 1888, in the litigation connected with the construction of the new aqueduct, while in 1884, he had been counsel in the litigation growing out of the Williams Bridge Reservoir. He also won deserved distinction in the famous Jacobs-Sire suit and the Langley divorce case, and as counsel for defendants in the Adirondack Rail Road litigation. His more important practice, however, comes from great business and corporation interests, whose entanglements are disposed of in the quiet of his office.

It may be fairly said that few, if any, lawyers of his years have won greater financial reward than Mr. Truax. This success is attributable no doubt to a close adherence to his professional duties. Only on few occasions has he been drawn into politics. In 1876, he stumped the states of New York and New Jersey in the interest of Samuel J. Tilden's candidacy for the presidency. In 1881, he was a delegate to the New York State Convention and again in 1888, he was a member of the committee on platforms in the convention which nominated David B. Hill for governor. As has been stated, he was recently elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of the state.

Mr. Truax is a member of the New York Bar Association, and served many years on its Committee on Amendment of Laws. He is also a member of the Manhattan Club, of the Holland Society, and was one of the founders of the Harlem Club.

In his home life Mr. Truax is especially fortunate. On the 30th of September, 1886, he was married to Alice M. Hawley, daughter of R. K. Hawley, of Cleveland, Ohio, a cousin of Senator Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut. It is a curious coincidence that the great granddaughter of Philip and Sara du Trieux was married July 21, 1720, to Stephen Hawley, an ancestor of Mrs. Truax. Two children have been born to them, Katharine Hawley (1887) and Ravaud Hawley Truax (1889). Such success as Mr. Truax has achieved so early in life affords the most sanguine prospects for his future years.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Engd. by Williams New York

Ashbel P. Fitch

The New York History Co.

Digitized by Google

RECORD OF A PURITAN FAMILY.

ASHBEL PARMELEE FITCH.

Hon. Ashbel Parmelee Fitch, lawyer and Member of Congress from New York City, comes in the seventh generation of the line of descent from the Rev. James Fitch, one of the most noted of those early Puritan ministers who held predominant influence in secular as well as religious affairs in New England, and in the eighth generation from Major John Mason, of Connecticut, one of the leading men in the colonies in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Rev. James Fitch was the son of Thomas Fitch, of Braintree, in the county of Essex, England, where the family has been long established. On his father's death he and his mother and brothers came to America in 1638. James was a young student in his sixteenth year. He prepared himself for the ministry and was ordained in 1646, as pastor of the church at Saybrook, Connecticut. In 1660, he became the first pastor of the new church at Norwich, Conn., where a settlement had been made in the wilderness. He held this pastorate for thirty-six years, till 1696, after which he lived, active even in retirement, until 1702. His pastoral duties were, however, but a part of his life. After serving as a chaplain in the little army of the Colony under the command of his future father-in-law, Captain John Mason against the Indians, he became deeply interested in them. Learning their language he sought not only by sermons, but by constant intercourse with them, gifts to them and other help to gain their confidence, with such success that the friendship of Uncas Owaneco and other chiefs, were obtained for the colonists. His literary labors were for the time and circumstances remarkable. An election sermon which he preached by invitation before the General Assembly of Connecticut, in 1674, was the first election sermon printed, and may be found in the library of Yale College. His "Explanation of the Solemn Advice recommended by the Council in Connecticut," a volume of 133 pages, was published in Boston, 1683, and his volume entitled "The First Principles of the Doctrine of Christ," Boston, 1679, was introduced "To the Reader," by the celebrated Dr. Increase Mather. Numerous other printed works of his are extant and to be found in the collection of the

Digitized by Google

Massachusetts Historical Society and in Trumbull's Colonial Records of Connecticut. His grave in the old burying ground at Lebanon, Connecticut, bears the following inscription :

REMEMBER ETERNITY.

In hoc sepulchro depositae sunt reliquiae viri vere reverendi D: Iacobi Fitch: natus fuit apud Bocking in comitatu Essexiae in Anglia, anno domini 1622, Decembr 24—qui postquam linguis literatis optime instructus fuisset in Novangliam venit aetat. 16, et deinde vitam degit Hartfordiae per septennium sub institutione virorum celeberimorum D: Hooker et D: Stone postea munere pastorali functus est apud Saybrook per annos 14 illinc cum ecclesiae maiori parte Norvicum migravit et ibi ceteros vitae annos transegit in opere evangelico in senectute vero prae corporis infirmitate necessario cessabat ab opere publico: tandemque recessit liberis apud Lebanon ubi semianno fere exacto obdormivit in Iesu anno 1702 Novebr 18 etat 80 vir, ingenii acumine, pondere judicii, prudentia, charitate, sanctis laboribus, et omnimoda vitae sanctitate peritiaquoque et vi concionandi nulli secundus.

(Translation.)

"In this grave are deposited the remains of that truly reverend man, Mr. James Fitch. He was born at Bocking, in the county of Essex, in England, the 24th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1622 ; who, after he had been most excellently taught the learned languages, came into New England at the age of sixteen ; and then spent seven years under the instructions of those very famous men, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone. Afterwards he discharged the pastoral office fourteen years at Saybrook. Thence he removed with the major part of his church to Norwich, where he spent the other years of his life in the work of the gospel. In his old age, indeed, he was obliged to cease from his public labors, by reason of bodily indisposition ; and at length retired to his children at Lebanon ; where after spending nearly half a year, he slept in Jesus, in the year 1702, on the 18th day of November, in the 80th year of his age. He was a man as to the smartness of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, his charity, holy labors, and every kind of purity of life, and also as to his skill and energy of preaching, inferior to none."

The Rev. James Fitch married Priscilla, daughter of Major John Mason. The latter was born in England, in 1600, had a military

Digitized by Google

education and served as a lieutenant under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He came to New England in 1630. He was in the service of the General of Massachusetts, as a chaplain in November, 1630, and in September, 1634, was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the fortifications in Boston Harbor and personally superintended the erection of the works on Castle Island. In 1635, he represented Dorchester in the General Court, and in 1636, was one of the founders of Windsor Conn. He commanded the Colonists in the Pequod War, for which service he was appointed the commander of the military forces of the Plantation of Connecticut, with a salary of forty pounds per annum, a post which he held thirty-five years, He was a magistrate, a member of the General Court of Connecticut, Lieutenant Governor of the Colony for ten years, and for two years acting Governor. The close relations between him and the Rev. James Fitch, are shown by the fact that while the latter married one of his daughters, Priscilla, another daughter, Elizabeth, married Major James Fitch, a son of the Rev. James Fitch, and his son John Mason married Abigail, a daughter of Rev. James Fitch.

From the marriage of James Fitch and Priscilla Mason there were fourteen children, of whom the thirteenth was Captain Nathaniel Fitch, of Lebanon, Conn., born October 10th, 1679, who was the father of Isaac Fitch, of Lebanon, born May 10th, 1724, who was the father of Jabez Fitch, born at Lebanon, November 18th, 1752.

The latter after serving with distinction in the Revolutionary War, married Molly Bosworth, at Lebanon, Conn., and after the close of the war, with a number of other young people from his town, came in 1793, to Columbia county, New York, where his son, Dr. Jabez Fitch, Junior, was born, November 16th, 1794. Subsequently in 1810, he removed to the town of Mooers, in Clinton county, New York. He was an architect and builder, whose skill is shown by different churches and public buildings still standing in Columbia and Clinton counties. His son, Dr. Jabez Fitch, was a physician in large practice at Mooers and Plattsburg, New York, served in the war of 1812 on the medical staff, and held, besides his position as surgeon to which he was appointed by DeWitt Clinton, many public offices.

Edward Fitch, the son of Dr. Jabez Fitch, Jr., was born January 12th, 1823, at Mooers, New York. He was educated for the law, admitted at Albany, New York, and after practising his profession successfully at Mooers and at Malone, New York, and serving with

Digitized by Google

credit in the Legislature of the State of New York, he removed in 1857 to New York city, where he was associated first with ex-Governor Myron H. Clark and then with Judge Claudius L. Monell. His success at the bar in the city was immediate and continued until his sudden death on February 7th, 1887. His high rank in his profession and his standing in the social and business life of the city were unquestioned. His powers of oratory were remarkable. He was a man of study and culture beyond the lines of his profession. His varied and extensive reading, his love of books, and his eager interest in all the arts continued all his life. With an imposing presence and a high sense of personal dignity and honor, he combined the kindest and most courteous manners and the warmest attachment to his friends.

He married at Malone, New York, April 22d, 1846, Fanny Parmelee, the daughter of the Rev. Dr. Ashbel Parmelee, whose name is borne by Congressman Fitch. Miss Parmelee was also of Revolutionary parentage. Her grandfather, Simeon Parmelee, was born in Durham, in Connecticut, in 1740, enlisted in 1757, at seventeen years of age, in the Colonial army in the French and Indian war. He was in the engagements at Fort Stanwix, at Oswego, and at the capture of Fort Niagara, July 24th, 1759, by Sir William Johnson. In 1775, he enlisted in Captain Noah Fowler's company, one of the companies organized for the relief of Boston, in the Lexington Alarm, in April, 1775, being the troops that were raised after the skirmishes of Lexington and Concord and the first troops enlisted in the struggle of the colonies. He then became an orderly sergeant in the regular Continental army, and subsequently a commissioned officer, serving in the invasion of Canada, at the capture of St. Johns, in September, 1775, and at Montreal, November 13th, 1775. He died at Westford, Vermont, in November, 1820.

The Rev. Ashbel Parmelee, D. D., a son of Simeon Parmelee, was born October 13, 1784, at Stockbridge, Mass., and was educated at Westford and Benson, Connecticut, and was ordained as a minister September 29, 1808. He was first pastor of the church at Cambridge, Vermont, and then in October, 1809, took the pastoral charge of the Congregational church at Malone, New York, where he remained for the rest of his life. During the war of 1812, he acted as a chaplain in the American service, and when Malone was captured by the British forces after General Wilkenson's retreat to Burlington, he protected the unfortunate inhabitants and endeared himself greatly

Digitized by Google

by his courage and unselfish service. His sermons were published in 1815, in 1825 and 1839, and in 1853 the degree D. D. was conferred upon him. On May 24, 1862, he died at Malone after a continual pastoral service of fifty-four years, the earlier part of which was during the time when northern New York was a wilderness, in which he was the earliest pioneer clergyman. His biography, published by J. W. Lewis & Co., of Philadelphia, in 1880, contains many anecdotes showing his courage, his hospitality, his attachment for out-door sports and his faithfulness and success as a clergyman.

Ashbel Parmelee Fitch, the son of Edward Fitch and of his wife Fannie Parmelee, was born at Mooers, Clinton county, New York, October 8, 1848. As mentioned above, in 1855, his father, the Hon. Edward Fitch, removed to New York. Mr. Fitch was educated in the public schools of New York city, and was then prepared for college at Williston Seminary at East Hampton, Massachusetts. He then went to Europe, where he completed his studies at the Universities of Jena and Berlin, gaining, besides a thorough classical education, an accurate knowledge of the German language, which has been of great use to him in his career, both in business and political life. He then returned to this country and was prepared for his profession at Columbia Law School, in New York City, where he was admitted to the bar in 1869, within a few days after his twenty-first birthday.

From 1869 until 1884, being a period of about fifteen years, Mr. Fitch was actively engaged in the practise of his profession to the exclusion of all other pursuits except his literary studies. His knowledge of the German language and the reputation of his father were of great use to him, and, early in his career, he was appointed counsel for many corporations, such as the Germania Bank, the Brewers' Board of Trade, the Indemnity Fund, and acted as legal adviser for some of the leading business firms in the city.

In 1884, Mr. Fitch's direct connection with political matters began by his nomination for Congress by the Republicans in the Thirteenth Congressional District which included most of the district in which Roswell P. Flower and Mr. Astor had had two years before their memorable contest. Mr. Fitch, however, declined this nomination, mainly on the ground that he was not fully in sympathy with the doctrines of high protection which were held by many Republicans. When, however, in 1886, the Democratic member from the district, General Egbert L. Viele, was renominated, the question of Mr. Fitch's can-

Digitized by Google

didacy was presented in a new form. General Viele, although a Democrat, was a firm believer in protection. Against a candidate pledged to high protection, Mr. Fitch was willing to make a campaign, and accordingly he was nominated in spite of his well known views in regard to the tariff by the Republicans in October 1886.

At the November election, in 1884, General Viele had a majority in the district over Mr. Smith, the Republican candidate, of 6,595, but in 1886, after a spirited campaign, in which Mr. Fitch made a complete speaking canvass, the latter was elected over General Viele by a majority of 2,672, and took his seat in December, 1887, as a member of the Fiftieth Congress.

On the organization of the House Mr. Fitch was assigned to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on the Reform of the Civil Service, two exceptional appointments for a new member. In connection with his membership on the military Committee, Mr. Fitch served as one of the sub-committee in making up the Army Appropriation Bill, and was active in the establishment of the new Government Gun Foundry at Watervliet, New York, and in particular in connection with the management and development of the West Point Military Academy. Mr. Fitch also served as one of the Board of Visitors to the United States Military Academy, in 1888, and joined in the preparation of the interesting report of the Board of Visitors of that year.

During his first Congressional term Mr. Fitch was also active in New York City in the agitation for Home Rule by the city, and was emphatic in his opposition to the position taken by the managers of the Republican party in that respect. In an open letter addressed to the Republicans in the State Legislature at the beginning of the session in 1888, among other things, Mr. Fitch said: "If the Republican party in the coming session shall choose to legislate for New York City, much as if it were a foreign colony, or a conquered province, if the wishes of the people here are overruled to satisfy the fancied sentiment or the interest of the country districts, then it will be necessary for the party to arrange to get such votes as it may need to elect its candidates in those portions of the State which its legislation favors. If, on the other hand, the members of the Legislature belonging to the Republican party will lay aside all questions of so-called party advantage and party patronage and in their legislation for this city will aim to give the people who live in it and have built it up the control of their own affairs, and if they will take

Digitized by Google

steps to give the city its rightful representation in the Legislature, they will, as I believe, take the natural and proper course to strengthen their party among the voters of the city."

In the meantime Mr. Cleveland had sent to Congress his celebrated message urging a reform of the tariff in the direction of the reduction of the duties then in force, and the Mills Bill which was designed to carry out the views in the President's message had been introduced in the House. Mr. Fitch had long been in sympathy with the doctrines laid down by President Cleveland in his message and embodied in the Mills Bill, and owed his election largely to his advocacy of these views in his canvass. He was therefore one of the three Republicans who refused to attend or be bound by the party caucus on this subject, and he voted for the Mills Bill, just as on the Democratic side Mr. Randall and several other gentlemen refused to be bound by their party caucus and voted against the bill.

On May 16th, 1888, Mr. Fitch spoke in the House on the Mills Bill and was heard with great attention. He spoke particularly for the working people of the city of New York, advocating a reduction of the tariff in their interest.

This speech was immediately circulated to the extent of hundreds of thousands of copies by the Reform Club of New York, and other similar organizations, and in the two Presidential campaigns which followed, was reprinted by the Democratic National Committee and circulated in German and English, as largely perhaps as any other single campaign document, and to the extent of over a million copies.

Mr. Fitch's determined attitude in regard to Tariff Reform and his unwillingness to be governed by the party action in regard to matters in the city of New York, took him out of line with the leaders of the Republican party, and accordingly in a letter dated August 13, 1888, Mr. Fitch resigned his position in the Republican District and County Committees and determined to go before the voters of his district as a candidate for re-election on the platform of his speech in Congress. His position was a sustained by a letter signed by over three thousand of his constituents approving of his course, and in October, 1888, he was renominated for Congress by both of the Democratic organizations in the district.

His opponent was James Otis Hoyt, a well known lawyer of high social standing, who was nominated by the Republicans. Mr. Fitch's majority over Mr. Hoyt was over 9,000, being more than twice his majority at his previous election.

Digitized by Google

In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Fitch was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, for which service he was particularly qualified by his personal knowledge of affairs in Europe and his acquaintance with the modern languages. He has remained on this committee in addition to service as the chairman on the Committee on Private Land Claims and as chairman of the Committee on the National Election Laws, to the present time (1893), and has been active in connection with all the workings of the diplomatic and consulate systems of the United States. As the Committee on Foreign Affairs deals entirely with matters outside of American politics, the relations of the committee with the State Department are very close, whichever party may be in power; and under the administrations of both President Cleveland and President Harrison, Mr. Fitch has been active in promoting in the House the legislation necessary to carry out the foreign policy of the country.

He has taken a position in favor of a generous treatment of the American representatives abroad, and his speech in the Fifty-second Congress against any reduction in the appropriations for foreign service of the United States attracted considerable attention in this country and abroad.

Mr. Fitch was also active in advocacy of the Harlem River Improvement. Until his election to Congress there had been no appropriation by the government for nine years. During his first term in Congress he secured an appropriation of $75,000, and in his second term one of $350,000, and a further appropriation in his third term which made the completion of the work certain.

In the Fifty-first Congress Mr. Fitch took an active part in the fight for international copyright, in which he made a speech which was largely quoted, and in the struggle against the enactment of the Force Bill, and the Ship Subsidy Bill, in both of which he was prominent. He was conspicuous in the contest against the enactment of the McKinley Bill. Mr. Fitch's principal activity in the House, however, has been in connection with the silver question. As early as June 21st, 1890, when Mr. Bland appealed from the decision of the Speaker sending the Silver Bill to the Coinage Committee, Mr. Fitch was one of the eleven Democrats who voted to table the appeal, and he has been constantly heard in all the debates since then on the side of sound currency and the gold standard.

In October, 1890, Mr. Fitch was again unanimously nominated by both of the Democratic organizations and was opposed by Mr.

Digitized by Google

Percy D. Adams, a lawyer of Harlem, whom Mr. Fitch defeated by a majority of over 16,000, being over four times his first majority in the District, and being the largest majority received by any candidate for Congress at that election in the United States. This event was commemorated by the presentation in the district to Mr. Fitch of the specimen of American silver work made by Tiffany & Company, which received the first prize at the Paris Exposition.

Mr. Fitch's more important work in the Fifty-second Congress was in connection with the opposition to free coinage. In the debates of March, 1892, which resulted in the defeat of the agitation for free silver coinage, he was especially active, and his speech of March 24, 1892, was largely quoted.

In July, 1892, Mr. Fitch introduced a resolution for the investigation of the operation of the Federal Election Laws, and on the passage of the Resolution was appointed Chairman of the Committee which conducted a long and very thorough investigation in New York City and reported a bill for the repeal of the laws on this subject, which is now pending in Congress.

In October, 1892, Mr. Fitch was for the fourth time nominated for Congress by the united Democracy, this time in the Fifteenth district of New York, a reapportionment having made substantially two districts out of the old Thirteenth district, which Mr. Fitch had represented for three terms. At this election Mr. Fitch was opposed by Henry C. Robinson, whom he defeated by the very large majority of eleven thousand.

In the Fifty-third Congress Mr. Fitch again was assigned to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and was made chairman of several of the sub-committees of that Committee. He also was appointed chairman of the Committee on the Election of President and Vice-President and Representatives in Congress. This Committee has charge of some of the most important work before Congress. In the struggle in the House over the repeal of the Sherman Purchase Act, Mr. Fitch took a prominent part. He was one of the Committee of seven chosen by the friends of repeal in the House to manage the canvass, and his speech in favor of repeal was widely quoted.

At the municipal election on the 7th of November last, Mr. Fitch was elected Comptroller of the City of New York, to succeed Theodore Myers. The confidence of the people in Mr. Fitch's well known business integrity was gratifyingly shown in his election by a conspicuously large majority over the balance of the ticket.

Digitized by Google

Besides his legal and Congressional work, Mr. Fitch has given much attention to literary studies. His library, which contains the collections of both his grandfathers, Dr. Parmelee and Dr. Fitch, is very large, and is particularly rich in books relating to German literature, of which Mr. Fitch continues to be a student. Of books relating to the life and works of Goethe, Mr. Fitch has perhaps the most complete collection in this country, and he has written and lectured largely on this subject.

Mr. Fitch married November 12, 1874, Lizzie A. Cross, a daughter of the Hon. George Cross, of Morrisville, New York, and has six children.

Digitized by Google

NEW-YORK IN 1756.

The original of the subjoined letter was written by an officer of the British navy, while his ship was anchored in New-York Bay. It was purchased at the sale of the library of Henry Thomas Buckle, the historian, and is now in the possession of a gentleman of Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, August 15, 1756.

I never was so much surprised as in finding this part of the world superior to England—the air is serene and the land fertile; peaches, nectarines, apples and all other fruits peculiar to the soil of Europe grow wild in the woods and only feed the particular beasts which inhabit them; I cannot say the taste is quite so exquisite and delicious, which I suppose may be owing to the want of grafting and transplanting—but the appearance looks so much like the golden age, and the first state of nature, that I could almost determine to spend the remainder of my life here. The river leading to the city of New-York runs a considerable way into the country, but has a bar at the mouth, which prevents the entrance of very large ships; the lands are cultivated as far as the eye can range, and the cottages inhabited by a variety of people from Germany, Holland, etc.

New-York is an island, situated about 30 miles up Hudson's River, bounded by Long Island on the east, and Staten Island on the south. The nobleness of the town surprised me more than the fertile appearance of the country. I had no idea of finding a place in America, consisting of near 2,000 houses, elegantly built of brick, raised on an eminence and the streets paved and spacious, furnished with commodious keys and warehouses and employing some hundreds of vessels in its foreign trade and fisheries—but such is this city that a very few in England can rival it in its show, gentility and hospitality. It is a royal government, and the officers appointed by the crown. There are very few Indians on this island, being all cut either off by intestine wars or diseases; the laborious people in general are *Guinea* negroes, who lie under particular restraints from the attempts they have made to massacre the inhabitants for their liberty, which is ever desired by those (you find) who never knew the enjoyment of it.

I cannot quit this colony without taking notice of a very particular cataract, which forms a prodigious arch, and (according to the eye) may fall about one

Digitized by Google

hundred and fifty feet; but what is more extraordinary, the mist, which is occasioned by the fall on a sunny day, forms a most delightful rainbow, and may be seen twelve miles off. There are romantic stories told of this cataract, but I am resolved to relate no more than I have seen. The Iroquois often appeared here on business, and their appearance is more savage than I can describe. I cannot help telling you the ceremony of burying their dead; all the relations paint their faces black, and twice a day make a most wretched lamentation over the grave; the time of mourning consists with the continuation of the black face, which is never washed, out of respect for the dead. The corpse is placed upright on a set,—and his gun, bow, arrows and money, buried with him, to furnish him with shooting implements in the next world, where they believe is more game than in *America*—and that the delightful country lies *westward*. They have priests among them, called Pawaws, who, if possible, make these wretches more ignorant than nature intended them to be.

My stay, tho' very short here, has been attended with a most disagreeable circumstance. When about three leagues from the ship, the boat's crew (consisting of ten men) rose on me, bound me hand and foot and ran the boat on shore, where I might have perished had not two returned and unbound me, which two I brought to the ship again. They confessed that they had attempted to throw me overboard (which I never perceived), but something always prevented. Had they perpetrated their villainy, I should have died by the mouths of some thousands of sharks—as I was at that time fishing on a bank where nothing could be more numerous. This is so striking an act of Providence, that had it happened to an atheistical person, it might have been the happy means of converting him. From hence we are bound to the West Indies, which is a secret which never transpired till the day of our departure. I am a little chagrined at the circumstance, not being provided for so long a voyage.

I am, &c.,

To H. M. Esq., EDWARD THOMPSON.

P. S.—We have one hundred and fifty people ill in fluxes, scurvies and fevers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

In connection with the article on John Brown in the preceding (November) number of this MAGAZINE, it seems proper to call attention to the instructive reference to that unique incident in our country's recent history, found in Mr. Rhodes' volumes, lately issued, on the *History of the United States from the Compromise of* 1850, which are calling forth so much favorable comment. His treatment of this particular episode speaks well for his judicious and impartial manner of writing history. If it is difficult in any case to be impartial, and maintain the judicial frame of mind, it is when one deals with events wherewith living generations are contemporaneous. He says: "A century may perchance pass before an historical estimate acceptable

Digitized by Google

to all lovers of liberty and justice can be made of John Brown. What infinite variety of opinions may exist of a man who on the one hand is compared to Socrates and Christ, and on the other hand to Orsini and Wilkes Booth! The likeness drawn between the old Puritan and these men who did the work of assassination revolts the muse of history; yet the comparison to Socrates and Christ strikes a discordant note. The apostle of truth and the apostle of peace are immeasurably remote from the man whose work of reform consisted in shedding blood; the teacher who gave the injunction, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,' and the philosopher whose long life was one of strict obedience to laws, are a silent rebuke to the man whose renown was gained by the breach of laws deemed sacred by his country." "And who can say," he adds, "that the proclamation of emancipation would have met as hearty a response, that northern patriots would have fought with as much zeal, the people have sustained Lincoln for the abolition of slavery as faithfully, had not John Brown suffered martyrdom in the same cause on Virginia soil?"

* * *

For a number of months past *Scribner's Magazine* has presented its readers with exceedingly graphic descriptions of "Historical Moments," the range covered including other countries than our own. In the March number the event thus signalized took place within our republic, and we deem it eminently worthy of attention. The "moment" is that of the death of the "old man eloquent," John Quincy Adams, on the very spot of the later triumphs of his career, which made him a more conspicuous figure in our country's history, and has sent his name down to posterity with a more lasting fame than the fact of his occupancy of the presidential office over a score of years before.

The article is from the pen of the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, who was speaker of the House of Representatives at the time, was an eye witness of the startling occurrence, and was, moreover, on intimate and even affectionate terms with Adams:

"On Monday morning, the 20th (of February, 1848)," writes Mr. Winthrop, "he was in his seat at the House with his proverbial punctuality. Prayers had been offered by the chaplain. The yeas and the nays had been called by the clerk, and I was proceeding to make some announcement or to put some formal question, when

Digitized by Google

Mr. Adams rose impulsively—I had almost said impetuously—with a paper in his outstretched hand, exclaiming with more than his usual earnestness and emphasis: 'Mr. Speaker! Mr. Speaker!' The reiteration rings again in my ears as I write these words. But before he could explain his object, or add another syllable, his hand fell to his side and he sank upon the arm of his chair, only saved from dropping to the floor by being caught by the member nearest to him. An exclamation was almost instantly heard, 'Mr. Adams is dying!' Business was at once suspended, and the excitement and confusion which ensued can be imagined better than described. More than two hundred representatives, in all parts of the hall and from all parts of the country, were seen rising from their seats and pressing forward toward their beloved and revered associate, almost as if it were in their power to reverse the will of God, and rescue him from the power of the great destroyer.

"Few persons of equal eminence—or of any eminence—have been distinguished by such a presence at their death scene. Fortunately there were several physicians among the members of the House. Dr. William A. Newell, afterward the governor of New Jersey, had the seat immediately in front of Mr. Adams, and took the lead in repressing the throng, securing air for the sufferer, and rendering all the medical aid which was possible. He co-operated with others in removing Mr. Adams on a sofa into the rotunda, and thence, with but little delay at my urgent instigation, into the Speaker's official chamber.

"'This is the end of earth,' was heard from his lips, as he fell, or when he was placed on the little couch which was hastily prepared for him, with the addition, as was alleged, 'I am composed,' or 'I am content.' But all signs of consciousness soon ceased, and he lingered, entirely insensible, until a quarter past seven on Wednesday evening, the 23d.

"I was with him during a large part of this time, and in company with my colleagues from Massachusetts and a few others, was at his side when he ceased to breathe. Neither the House nor the Senate transacted any business during the three days, but adjourned from morning to morning, until the end came. The anniversary of Washington's birthday was one of the intervening days, but it was recognized with few, if any, of the customary festivities. The impending death of Mr. Adams cast a gloom over the whole city."

Digitized by Google

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

THE FRENCH WAR AND THE REVOLUTION, by William Milligan Sloane, Ph. D., L.H.D., Professor in Princeton University. With maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1893. (The American History Series.)

The second volume of this interesting and instructive series more than satisfies the expectations awakened by the first, Dr. Fisher's *Colonial Era*. It, of course, takes up the thread of history where the other dropped it, and presents two clearly marked and important epochs in our country's annals.

It was the French war that made possible the Revolution and the Federation. It taught the colonies what they were, or could be, to each other; they were too selfishly isolated in feeling and action before, perhaps an inevitable result of their separate origin and the varying causes for their existence. The French war, too, was to remove a threatening and disturbing element from their borders, which while it remained kept several of the strongest and most influential colonies from thinking much about any body but themselves. Imperfectly, but yet to a sensible degree, unified in action and sentiment by the war against the French and Indians; and rejoicing in the relief from threatened massacring expeditions from Canada; they were in a condition to act an independent and national part should the occasion arise therefor. The mother country, ruled by mediocre talent, under a narrow-minded, but despotically inclined king, stupidly furnished the occasion. The English nation rejoiced exceedingly over the conquest of Canada; by the irony of fate and the blunders of their own rulers, it was but the prelude to a far more serious loss.

This fact is brought out very clearly by the excellent little treatise before us. The titles of the chapters furnish a suggestion as to the mode of treatment, which rightly attributes more importance to the political and other conditions bringing about the events of the two wars which give the title to the book, than to those events themselves. Three chapters at the beginning treat respectively of "The English People in the Eighteenth Century," "Institutions of the English Colonies," and "The English and French in North America." In the course of the last chapter the author has occasion to deal with the Indians, which he does with some fullness, discussing a few of their personal traits, as well as their capacity for political and military

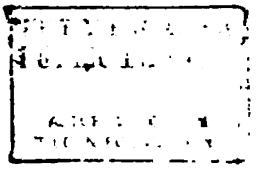
Digitized by Google

combinations. There is not a very marked air of admiration running through this treatment, and as to the theory of their religious ideas, in which some people recognize a rather surprising purity and spirituality, Professor Sloane has some very unmistakable words to the contrary. "The darkest form of fetichism, which some would dignify by the name of ancestor worship, was the cement of their society, but their spiritual strivings were somewhat higher in character, being a form of nature worship. Each object had its spirit, or manitou, and among these spiritual essences were orders, some regulated by locality, some by inherent inferiority or superiority, but the prevalent notion that they had a conception of one supreme personal spirit is false."

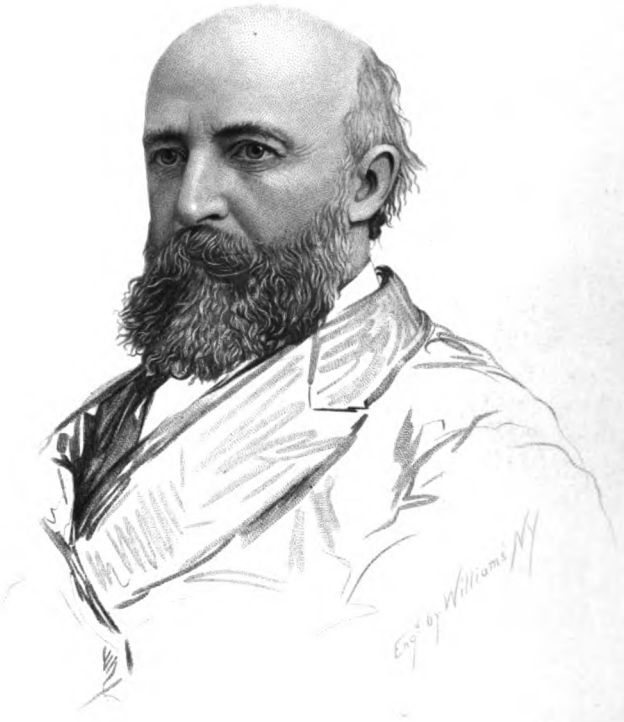
In the transition from the one war to the other, a period of about fifteen years elapses. Professor Sloane says of it: "The years from 1760 to 1775 are among the most important in the history of constitutional government, because in them was tried the issue of how far under that system laws are binding on those who have no share in making them." We find, accordingly, that the second war period is again preceded by an array of chapters treating of the political lessons which the preparation for it furnishes. They are: "A New Issue in Constitutional Government," "The Stamp Act," "Conflict of Two Theories," "The Constitutional Revolution," and "Resistance to Oppression." Synoptical as the book must necessarily be, Professor Sloane is bound to abandon that necessity when it comes to studies of the situation; for after we have had a view of Lexington and Bunker Hill, he inserts three chapters on "Overthrow of Royal Authority," "The Movement for Independence," and "Independence and Confederation." We are, of course, all interested in battles; but possibly they have had sufficient attention. But we can hardly ever get enough of a thorough study of the political philosophy of the revolutionary period. The battles have been fought and are over; the lessons in politics and patriotism have a bearing and an application for the present and for the future. We are glad to notice that Professor Sloane has no golden opinions of the alliance with France, which indeed stood us in good stead in a supreme moment of the war, but which was made serviceable even then only by the masterful genius of Washington. Yet the adverse opinion seems to have crystallized only in the title of a chapter, "Evil Effects of the Foreign Alliance," for in the chapter itself those evil effects are to be faintly inferred rather than directly indicated.

Digitized by Google

No Front cover



Digitized by Google



Lansdell Parker

The New York History Co

Digitized by Google

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XIX. FEBRUARY-MARCH, 1894. NO. 4-5.

NEW YORK IN THE STAMP ACT TROUBLES, 1761-1768.

PART II.*

ARMS OF
SIR HENRY MOORE.

THIS was the first of the famous non-importation agreements, the great commercial measure of defense against Great Britain. It plunged friends and foes alike into the deepest distress, but it taught the colonies the extent of their own resources. It laid the foundation of American manufactures. The honor of this movement belongs to New-York. It was followed by Philadelphia, on November 7, and by Boston on December 3. The Philadelphia resolutions, an elaboration of those of New-York, were made public in the journals of November 14, the first issue after their adoption. So general was the acquiescence of the merchants in this movement that it was estimated in November that the value of goods countermanded was over seven hundred thousand pounds sterling. A market for all kinds of home manufactures was opened under the Exchange in Broad street, and the people were exhorted to consume no foreign goods. The "New-York Gazette" printed in large type: "It is better to wear a homespun coat than lose our liberty." The principal gentlemen in the city clad themselves in country manufactures or turned clothes. The farmers sent no more lamb to market, that they might produce more wool for the spinners, and sassafras-bark and sage took the place of Bohea teas.

The stamps reached New-York later than the other colonies. They arrived in the ship Edward, on Tuesday, October 23, while the

* From "The Memorial History of New-York."

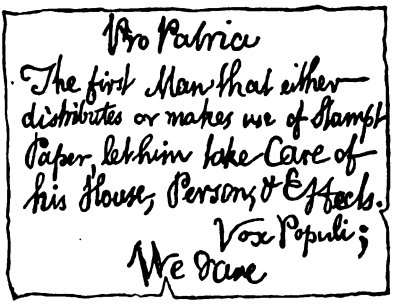
Digitized by Google

congress was still in session, after a voyage of six weeks and three days from Falmouth. There were ten packages of stamped paper, which had been shipped so quietly that no passenger in the ship knew of their being on the vessel till "a man-of-war came on board to take care of their security." They had been stowed in different parts of the ship, and it was said, without knowledge of the captain. The ship was boarded at the Hook in accordance with an agreement between Colden and Captain Kennedy of the Coventry frigate. The arrival of the stamps was made known by the firing of cannon from one of the men-of-war at ten o'clock at night, and the next morning the Edward was convoyed into harbor with great parade by a man-of-war and her tender, and brought to anchor under guns of the fort. An excited throng watched this proceeding from the river front and wharves. On Thursday Colden summoned his council, seven of whom were in town, for their advice. Only three attended: Horsmanden and Smith, both of whom were judges of the Supreme Court, and Mr. John Reade. They declined giving advice except by a full board, saying that if the ship were detained the governor and they would render themselves liable for the costs of an action which might be brought by any person having goods on board. They finally advised the hiring of a sloop to unload the vessel until the packages containing the stamps were reached; but no sloop could be hired at any price, their masters declining the service. The captains of the king's ships were then requested to remove the cargo. They consented, and seven of the packages were reached. It was found unsafe to break the cargo further in the uncertainty of the weather and the fear of a gale of wind. Colden states that not a single line or the least direction came in the ship, not so much as a bill of lading. He therefore determined to postpone opening the packages until the arrival of Sir Henry Moore, the new governor, about to sail, when the Edward left. His Majesty's ship Garland at noon landed the seven packages, which were at once lodged within the fort without any opposition or popular disturbance.

On the arrival of the Edward all the vessels in the harbor had lowered their colors to signify "mourning, lamentation and woe." On October 31, the "New-York Gazette" was printed with black head and foot lines, and contained "a funeral lamentation on the death of Liberty, who finally expires the thirty-first of October, in the year of our Lord, MDCCLXV., and of our slavery I." The calm which encouraged the persistent Colden to believe that he could put the

Digitized by Google

laws into force on November 1, the day fixed by the act, was but apparent. The night after the arrival of the Edward manuscript placards were pasted on the doors of every public office, and at the corners of the streets, all of the same tenor. "Pro Patria. The first Man that either distributes or makes use of Stampt Paper, let him take Care of his House, Person & Effects. Vox Populi; *We dare.*" McEvers had declined to have anything to do with the stamps, and the burden of receiving them fell on Colden. On October 26, when the intention of McEvers was definitely understood, David Colden, son of the lieutenant-governor, addressed the commissioners of the stamp-office at London, asking for the appointment. He expressed his sense of the odium and danger which the appointment involved, but he pleaded that, as his father was determined to enforce the act, he himself must necessarily assume the office of distributer, and that it was but fair if he incurred the risk he should reap the advantage of the emoluments. Colden had no doubt the act would be "quietly submitted to in a few months."


Pro Patria
The first Man that either
distributes or makes use of Stampt
Paper, let him take Care of
his House, Person, & Effects.
Vox Populi;
We dare

THE MANUSCRIPT PLACARD.

On the 31st all the colonial governors took the oath to enforce the act; but nowhere was an attempt made to enforce it. The eyes of the colonies were fixed upon New-York. "Whatever is done here will determine their conduct on this occasion," wrote David Colden. The lieutenant-governor was entirely satisfied with the condition of the fort, which was no longer dilapidated as in the spring; it had been restored, and was now in a proper state of defense; the honeycombed guns had been replaced by serviceable pieces; there were howitzers and shells. A company of the sixtieth regiment had come down from Crown Point, and later the relief of the royal regiment of artillery arrived from England. The garrison now amounted to one hundred men besides their officers. They were commanded by Major James of the artillery, a vain and apparently braggart man, whose manners and conversatian had already greatly incensed the people. He was charged with saying that "he would cram the stamps down their throats with the end of his sword," and that if they attempted to rise

Digitized by Google

he would drive them all out of the town for a pack of rascals, with four and twenty men." In reply the Sons of Liberty threatened to storm the fort and burn the stamps. On October 31, the lieutenant-governor advised the major that a riot was intended for that or the next day, and that there was "a design to bury Major James alive." In the evening of this day, which fell on Thursday, after the merchants had separated from their non-importation meeting, a crowd of sailors and others gathered in front of the City Arms in the Broadway. The night passed, however, without any marked acts of turbulence.

On the morning of November 1 the city magistrates notified the lieutenant-governor that they were apprehensive of a mob that night, and Captain Kennedy was requested to order all the marines from the men-of-war in the harbor to reinforce the troops in the fort. The storm broke at last, and with all the more fury because of its long delay. A mob, "the most formidable imaginable," as Livingston describes it (and it passed twice by his door), collected in the fields opposite the commons, where a movable gallows was erected, on which was suspended an effigy of Governor Colden, closely resembling the person it was intended to represent. In his hand was a stamped paper which he seemed to court the people to receive; at his back hung a drum, on his breast a label, "the rebel drummer of 1715," a sobriquet which had been before attached to him by Chief Justice Horsmanden in the time when Clinton was governor. It was a bitter satire upon the zeal with which Colden, then on a visit to his home in Scotland, voluntarily took up arms and, raising a company, marched against the Pretender and his own countrymen, in support of the king. By his side hung the devil with a boot in his hand, a favorite emblem of the king's unpopular adviser, Lord Bute, who seemed to be whispering in his ear. While the multitude gathered about these figures, a second party with another figure made of paper, also representing the governor in his "gray hairs," seated in his chair and carried on the head of a sailor, preceded and attended by a great number of lights (six hundred are said to have been used on the occasion), paraded through the principal streets of the city; as they moved pistol-shots were repeatedly fired at the effigy. Passing through the Fly, the low meadow-land through which Pearl street ran, they turned into Wall street and paid a visit to McEvers, whose residence was there, and gave him three cheers, in acknowledgment of his resignation of his office of stamp-master.

Digitized by Google

The mayor, John Cruger, attended by the aldermen, had met at the City Hall. These were Whitehead Hicks, for the East Ward; Nicholas Roosevelt, for the West Ward; George Brencoton, for the North Ward; Francis Filkin, for the South Ward; Dirck Brinckerhoff, for the Dock Ward; John Bogert, Jr., for Montgomerie's Ward; and Cornelius Roosevelt, for the Out Ward. Attended by their constables with staves, these worthy officials endeavored to prevent the progress of the procession, and even threw down the effigy. But the leader of the mob, with magisterial authority and perfect good temper, ordered it to be raised again, and the city authorities to stand aside at their peril. The mob then marched to the fort at the foot of Broadway. The governor's residence was inside the walls, his coach-house without the ramparts; this they broke open and took out his chariot. Then placing the effigy upon the coach with one of their number sitting as coachman, whip in hand, they drew it about the town. Passing the Merchants' Coffee House on the corner of Wall and Queen (now Water) streets, a famous place of resort, they were greeted with signs of approbation and applause; thence they hurried with great rapidity toward the Fields. Meanwhile the first party had begun its movement, bearing the gallows on its frame, on which were hung numbers of lanterns. When the two parties met they halted, and proclamation was made that no stones should be thrown and no windows broken and no injury offered to any person, all of which was carefully obeyed. The multitude then marched to the fort, and although aware that the guns were loaded with grape

MRS. JAMES ALEXANDER.

Digitized by Google

and the ramparts were lined with soldiers, moved directly to the gate. Knocking their clubs against it, they demanded admittance; they called to the sentinel to tell the rebel drummer—*i. e.*, Colden—or Major James to give orders to fire. But for the interposition of some moderate men they would no doubt have forced the gates, as there were said to be four or five hundred sailors and old soldiers among them quite accustomed to desperate undertakings. From the gate, after many insults to the effigy, they fell back to the Bowling Green, stripping it of the palisade which surrounded it. Here they planted the gibbet with the effigies hanging from it, though still under the muzzles of the fort guns. In the middle of the Green, with the palisades and the planks of the fort fence, and a chaise, two sleighs, and the stable fixtures which they had also taken from the governor's coach-house, they soon reared a large pile, which, being fired, soon kindled to a great flame and reduced coach, gallows, man, devil, and all to ashes.

This is claimed to have been the extent of the original plan of the leaders of the movement; but while the flames were at their height a party of volunteers left the main body, and, breaking through the palisades on the other side of the Green, repaired to the house of Major James. This was the Vauxhall, a fine residence with large gardens which stood upon the North River shore, at the foot of Warren street, below the college grounds. It had been a popular summer resort as a public house and gardens under the management of the famous Sam Fraunces, but the Major had refitted it with good furniture, a valuable library, mathematical instruments, rich clothing, linen, and a considerable quantity of wines and liquors. In the garden were summer houses and many curious articles. The mob broke open the doors and destroyed every article the house contained; then making a fire outside, they threw in everything that would burn; drank or destroyed all the liquor; beat to pieces all the doors, sashes, window-frames and partitions, leaving the house a mere shell; they then destroyed the summer houses and tore up the garden. At two o'clock they retired, carrying off with them in triumph many military trophies, including the color of the royal regiment. The guard of the royal artillery had hastily withdrawn on the approach of the mob.

During the evening a placard which had been exhibited during the day at the Merchants' Coffee House was delivered at the fort gate by an unknown hand. It was in the form of an open letter to

Digitized by Google

Lieutenant-Governor Colden, and addressed to him in all due formality. After accusing him of having bound himself by oath to be the chief murderer of the rights of the people, it passed to a personal threat: "We can with certainty assure you of your fate if you do not this night solemnly make oath before a magistrate and publish to the people that you never will directly or indirectly by an act of yours or any person under your influence endeavour to introduce or execute the Stamp Act, or any part of it, and that you will do the utmost of your power to prevent its taking effect here and endeavor to obtain a repeal of it in England. We have heard of your design or menace to fire upon the town in case of disturbance, but assure yourself that if you dare to perpetrate any such murderous act you'll bring your gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. You'll die a martyr to your own villainy and be hanged liked Porteous* upon a high post, as a memento to all wicked governors, and that any man that assists you shall be surely put to death." The menacing letter was signed "New-York," and no doubt expressed the resolve of the people. The next day, November 2, letters and messages were sent in to Governor Colden at the fort threatening his life if he did not deliver up the stamped papers. On this point he says himself: "By advice of council I very readily declared that I would not distribute them, in truth it was not in my power to do it, but deliver them to Sir Henry Moore when he arrived." Some were content with this, but others of the leaders

Jas Alexander †

* This was an allusion to the fate of Captain Porteous of the city watch in Edinburgh, who, falling under the censure of the people, was taken from the Edinburgh jail and hanged on one of the city gates by a mob in 1736—a fact in Scottish history peculiarly offensive to Colden.

† The portrait of James Alexander and that of his wife are from the originals, attributed to Copley, in the possession of Mrs. Archibald Russell of New-York.

Digitized by Google

insisted that the stamps should be placed on board Captain Kennedy's ship Coventry. But that officer declined to receive them, fearful lest the mob should demand them of him and on his refusal to give them up take vengeance by destroying the property held by him in his own and in his wife's right, the latter being a member of the Watts family. He owned as many houses as any one person in New-York.

The 3d of November was Sunday. There was no disturbance, and all parties had time for reflection—the leaders to concert their action, the governor and the military to prepare for defense. Prudent counsels prevailed, and early on Monday, the 4th, Colden invited the attendance at the fort of the mayor and some of the first citizens, to whom he renewed his promise that "he would not issue nor suffer to be issued any of the Stamps in Fort George." This, arranged in the form of a declaration, and bearing the names of Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Beverly Robinson, and John Stevens, was printed in hand-bills and freely circulated throughout the city. It closed with an expression of the satisfaction of the freemen and freeholders, and an assurance of their determination to keep the peace of the city unless they found other cause of complaint. But the people were not satisfied, and declared that the stamps should be delivered out of the fort or they would take them out by force. Placards were posted throughout the city inviting a meeting in the Fields on the evening of Tuesday, November 5, and requesting the citizens to come armed for the purpose of storming the fort. During the day, however, the city magistrates met in common council at the City Hall and named a committee to wait on the lieutenant-governor and propose that the stamps be delivered to the city authorities and be deposited in the City Hall. This committee appears to have consisted of the mayor and all the aldermen. They proceeded to the fort, accompanied by a prodigious concourse of people of all ranks. The governor delivered up the stamps, taking receipt therefor from John Cruger as mayor. The packages were then taken to the City Hall, where they were lodged, and the people dispersed. The tranquillity of the city was again restored. During the course of these proceedings General Gage, the military commander of the northern provinces, was greatly praised for his moderation. While the mayor and aldermen were awaiting Colden's answer on the morning of the 5th, the lieutenant-governor had

Digitized by Google

requested the advice of the general, which it seems was favorable to the concession.*

Whatever divisions there may have been in the city of New-York between the upper and middle classes, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, the king's party and the independents, before the passage of the stamp act, certain it is that there were none after that event. The entire population of the city and province was merged in one solid mass of resistance to the arbitrary measures which struck at the very root of liberty. The universal testimony is that Colden was alone in his determination, and that even the king's officers, with the exception of the injudicious Major James, were averse to meddling in the matter. The major, no doubt alarmed at the demonstrations against himself, thought it prudent to take passage for London the next day—carrying despatches to Secretary Conway—on board the Edward, whose captain, Davis, was obnoxious because of his having brought over the stamps. She sailed on the 8th. Colden sent a circumstantial account of the affair of the 5th by the Falmouth packet, which sailed the following Sunday, the 10th, and inclosed a memorial from Major James praying remuneration for the total loss of his property. Colden in his account declared that the defense of the fort would have involved the destruction of the city, and that he had only yielded to the appeals of a deputation of merchants and an address of the corporation "imploring his compassion." "They knew," said he, "that had every man in the City on Tuesday last joined in the attack on the fort, as was openly and boldly threatened, they could not have carried it, but that the greater the number who joined in it the greater their desolation must have been." How far this is true it is now difficult to judge. Captain John Montresor, of the royal engineers, called in by Colden on November 1, to put the fort in a state of security, states that the defense he put up was temporary, "there being no parapet to the works and being commanded by its neighboring houses." He places the number of assailants at two thousand, and says that some of them attempted to scale the walls, while three hundred carpenters among the mob were prepared to attempt to cut down the fort gate on the first shot fired from thence. Moreover, they had procured one hundred barrels of powder, and had pro-

* It may be here mentioned that this 5th of November was Guy Fawkes day, the evening of which was always celebrated in New York, as it was in all English cities, with popular enthusiasm, bonfires, and much drinking—a dangerous anniversary for a revolutionary assemblage.

Digitized by Google

New york June 17th 1765.

Dear Sir.

By Letters of the 21st ult.mo from Detroit. The Pattawatamies of St. Joseph do not seem inclined to give Satisfaction, and have desired their Hostages might be sent them. The Miamies would not deliver up the Prisoners of the 17th Regt. to the Chippewas who was sent to them by Col. Campbell to make a Demand of the Prisoners, but bid them tell the Commander, they would bring him themselves when Pondiac returned from the Illinois. They would first hear what he had to say. It is reported that Pondiac has declared all the Nations upon the Ouabache, at the Illinois, Miamies St. Joseph, and many to the Northward. and there are very bad Reports about St. Dusson and those who went with him from Fort-Pitt on the 22d of March. That his Party consisting of six Englishmen, a Mohock, a Huron & a Delaware, were taken Prisoners at the Illinois by Pondiacs order & brought to Ouabanon, where they were all Burned, except the Frenchman and the Huron, whom Pondiac was bringing Prisoners to the Miamis Village. I hope it is a false report. I am

Dear Sir.

Your most obedient humble Servant Tho.s Gage

Sr. Wm. Johnson Bart.

GENERAL GAGE TO SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

Digitized by Google

claimed their intention of marching the friends of the government in their front.

Colden had sent his family on board the war-ship Coventry for protection on the 4th. They returned to the city on the 6th of November. Meanwhile he remained himself in the fort. Watts wrote to Monckton "that he should not like his (Colden's) situation." Colden himself wrote to Conway "that, could he be assured that no villainous assassin would come from the town, he should think himself as secure at his country house as in the fort, the inhabitants of the country being absolutely free of the seditious spirit raging in the town."

From his refuge under the guns of the king's artillery Colden issued his proclamation summoning the assembly. He had not met this refractory body since he prorogued them on October 20, 1764, after their bold representations and petition to the king and parliament. Twelve members appeared in response to the summons on November 12, and adjourned over to the next morning.

STAMP.

Early on that day, Wednesday, the 13th, the Minerva arrived, about ten weeks out from Portsmouth, having on board Sir Henry Moore, the new governor. He was received at the fort by the lieutenant-governor, and saluted with seventeen guns. He was waited on successively by the council, the gentlemen of the general assembly, the mayor and corporation of the city, General Gage and the officers of the army, the clergy, and most of the principal inhabitants of the town. His commission was read in council and published in the fort, after which, accompanied by the officials and gentlemen, he walked in procession to the City Hall, where his commission was republished, "attended with loud acclamations of the people." Such is the account of the liberty paper. On his return from the City Hall to the government house at the fort, the grenadier company of militia appeared and headed the procession; and the way to the fort was lined by the other companies, who had gathered late because of the shortness of the notice and the badness of the weather. There were high festivities at the government house, the usual loyal toasts were drunk, and in the evening the city was handsomely illuminated.

Digitized by Google

The assembly met in the course of the day, but receiving word from the governor that he was much fatigued from his voyage and desired to refresh himself, they adjourned till the 19th.

On the 14th, the mayor and common council (Augustus Van Cortlandt, clerk) adopted an address to the new governor, in which "with hearts elate and full of joy" they congratulate him on his safe arrival. They allude in terms of affectionate gratitude to the administration of General Monckton, who governed the colony with a "spirit of dignity, justice and tenderness never to be forgotten by the people of this country." They deplore the state of the colonies in general, "now groaning under the burthen of great grievances and filled with fearful apprehensions of the loss of their most inestimable privileges." They profess the utmost devotion and loyalty to the royal sovereign, and their satisfaction at his (the governor's) arrival at "this critical junction, most ardently wished for and depended upon for the preservation and establishment of the public peace and felicity." Duly engrossed and sealed with the seal of the corporation, the address was accompanied by a resolution tendering him the freedom of the city, inclosed in a gold box with the city arms engraved thereon. The corporation waited on the governor on the 21st with their compliments, and were graciously received with assurances of "his desire to contribute to the public peace and tranquillity and to establish them on a lasting foundation." The city was by this time quiet. Indeed, so immediate was the restoration of tranquillity after the delivery of the stamps, that Colden himself wrote on the 9th that "it [the excitement] immediately ceased in every appearance;" and again at a later period, "the mob entirely dispersed and the city remained in perfect tranquillity till I delivered up the administration to Sir Henry Moore." Meanwhile the stamps "remained safe with a very trifling guard indeed upon them in the City Hall."

The new governor evidently made a favorable impression. Watts, writing to Monckton, describes him as "an easy, sensible, well-bred man and experienced in business; everybody likes the change extremely; indeed nobody could come amiss so they were but rid of the old man": *i. e.*, Colden. His first question to the council was, Could the stamps be issued? to which the unanimous answer was No! The next, whether the fort could not be reduced to its old state, it now appearing as menacing and unfriendly, and the gates thrown open as usual; to which they unanimously consented, even Colden voting in the affirmative. On the 16th, Montresor had his

Digitized by Google

order from General Gage, on the application of the governor, to dismantle Fort George, and on the 29th orders were issued to raze the parapet also. The work was performed by the garrison, consisting of the detachment of royal artillery and the Royal Americans, and it was completed in December. The guns on the battery and also the ordnance guns in the artillery-yard had been spiked by the British officers on November 3. This, it must be remembered, was the Water Battery, not the Battery as it now exists, which is chiefly made land.

The Sons of Liberty again appear publicly on the scene. The lawyers whom Colden accused of writing the stirring letters in the newspapers are not mentioned by him by name. Of the authors of the more inflammatory articles, Watts wrote on October 12: "I don't find any body who so much as suspects the authors of them." John Holt, the editor of the "New-York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy," though repeatedly warned by the government, totally disregarded the warnings and boldly printed his journal on unstamped paper. He must have been sure of personal protection, as he openly published a manifesto of his purpose to defy the law. Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, describing the violent proceedings, says that the placard announcing the assault on the fort on November 5, was signed "Sons of Neptune," and it had been seen that the still more significant notice was signed "Vox Populi." This was the name of the secret party, though at the time no one knew how formidable it was. The placard, thrown into Holt's window on November 2, warning him not to desert the people at this critical hour, was signed, in the name and by the order of a great number of the "Free Sons of New-York," by "John Hampden on the Turf," a probable allusion to the Fields. Holt answered it on the 14th. Not as yet does the name Sons of

BURNS' COFFEE HOUSE.*

* Burns' Coffee House, so frequently mentioned in the text, stood in Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green, near what was formerly the private residence of the Van Cortlandts. The view here presented is that of its front in Broadway.

Digitized by Google

Liberty appear. It is first found in Holt's New-York letter of November 21, from which we learn that in the greatest simplicity and without any pageantry the Sons of Liberty had sent Sir Henry Moore a deputation with a congratulatory address. Encouraged by his Excellency's complaisant reception, they met in the Fields on Friday, the 15th, erected inscriptions and pyramids in his honor, and one of the grandest bonfires ever seen in the city. The same paper relates that these Sons of Liberty, ever vigilant for their country's good, alarmed at the second importation of stamps in the Minerva, which brought out the governor, were indefatigable in their efforts to have them lodged with the first in the City Hall. On their application the mayor and aldermen asserted themselves, and they succeeded in obtaining for them this destination. Joseph Allicocke, writing to John Lamb, then in Philadelphia, uses the phrase "Liberty boys." He sends Lamb some papers which he requests him "to look at and seal and distribute with speed, privacy aud actual secrecy."

The assembly met on November 20, when Robert R. Livingston, chairman of the committee appointed on October 18, 1764, to correspond with the other colonies upon the sugar act and other obnoxious legislation by parliament, reported the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress and the representations then adopted, which the Assembly unanimously approved, and in accordance with the recommendations of the congress raised a committee to draw up a petition for the New-York province. Still another grievance had disturbed the peace of the colony and alarmed the most thoughtful men. This was an unprecedented attempt made by ex-Governor Colden, during the recess of the assembly, to introduce appeals from the verdict of a jury. Popular excitement, which had somewhat lulled under the satisfaction felt in the change of administration, again ran high. As in all popular movements the

Arch^d Laidlie

Digitized by Google

city was divided into two great classes: the men of property, who had a heavy stake in the preservation of order and the redress of grievances by constitutional or at least conservative methods; and the larger faction of those who had much to gain and little to lose by revolution, led by men who found their interest promoted and their pride gratified in their leadership. Livingston, in his account of the troubles, says that a meeting of those conservative men who were "inclined to keep the peace of the city," was called at the Coffee House at ten in the morning; that although "all came prepared to form a Union, few cared openly to declare the necessity of it, so intimidated were they at the secret unknown party which had threatened such bold things." A similar division of sentiment again displayed itself. Business, it seems, had come to a standstill. The well-to-do class could afford to await the issue of the petitions to Great Britain. The middle and lower classes, who depended upon a daily trade, were in distress because of its stoppage, and insisted that business should go on as before, regardless of the stamps.

On November 25, an advertisement was devised and great numbers of it set up in all quarters of the town, under the heading "Liberty, Property, and no Stamps," inviting a general meeting of the freeholders, freemen, and inhabitants of the city and county on the 26th, at Burns's City Arms Tavern (the same where the non-importation agreement was signed October 31 previous), in order to agree upon instructions to their representatives in the general assembly. Persons of all ages, ranks, and conditions were notified they could safely attend, as it was resolved by the promoters of the meeting that their proceedings should be conducted with the utmost solemnity and good order. Notwithstanding the admirable temper of this call, the placards were twice pulled down in all parts of the town, and as often immediately restored to their places by order of the managers. When it was found that the meeting could not be prevented, an attempt was made by its opponents to control its action and, by diverting its purpose from essential to minor objects, to defeat the original design. About twelve hundred persons assembled. A committee of management was appointed, representing, it would seem, both wings of opinion. An address was then prepared to the city and county members proposing a method for carrying on business without stamps. This paper was read and approved. Another paper was submitted urging remonstrance to the several unconstitutional acts. This also was approved, and

Digitized by Google

being declared by one of the principal persons to be all that was needed, was by the managers substituted for the first. The committee appointed to present the petition, twelve in number, was composed of Henry Cruger, John Vanderspiegel, David Van Horne, James Jauncey, Walter Rutherford, John Alsop, William Livingston, William Smith, Jr., Whitehead Hicks, John Morin Scott, James De Lancey, and John Thurman, Jr., who fairly represented the various shades of opinion. Colden describes them as four lawyers, six merchants, and two landed men. The rejected address invited the assembly to make it a condition "that no officer shall be entitled to any salary who refuses to discharge the functions of his duty on unstamped paper." Thus the issue was drawn between those who advocated a suspension of trade and those who favored trade on unstamped — *i. e.*, illegal — paper. The committee of twelve published the instructions and reported that they had presented them in a body to the city members, who assured them that the house had already seriously considered their subject matter. In fact the journals of the 29th report the adoption by the house of the petitions, drafted by Robert R. Livingston, by their order.

While the governor was "behaving sensibly and coolly, and letting the stamps sleep till he can hear from home," he lost little time in informing the assembly of what parliament expected of them. On December 3 he laid before the assembly the act of parliament providing that the expense of furnishing the king's troops in America with quarters should be defrayed by the respective colonies. He added a return of the forces, and asked their compliance. The assembly withheld its answer till the 15th, when it declared that wherever the king's troops were quartered in the king's barracks they were supplied without charge to the colonies; that there were barracks in this city sufficient for the king's forces, and finally, that when the question arose as to the supply of quarters and necessaries on the march, the house would consider it after the expenses had been incurred. This was passed without a dissenting voice. On December 18 they passed, also without a dissenting voice, a solemn declaration of their rights and liberties, claimed the sole right of taxing themselves, and asserted that the late duties were "grievous, burthensome, and impossible to be paid," and already diminished their profitable trade with the West India foreign islands, and must render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain. In the same session, however, they continued the old act granting to

Digitized by Google

the king the several duties and impositions on goods, wares, and merchandise imported into the col ny. The assembly adjourned on the 23d to March 4, 1766.*

The distress of the people grew fast. "The aspect of things was ill-boding, what with the cramping of trade, suppression of paper money, duties, courts of admiralty, appeals, internal taxes, etc., rendered people so poor, cross, and desperate that they don't seem to care who are their masters." So wrote Watts, a calm observer. But Sir William Johnson held the behavior of the New-Yorkers to be "furious and audacious," and the purpose of the persons of consequence who excited and supported them to be, "to effect that democratical system which is their sole aim, and which they may hereafter compass unless a timely check is given to that spirit of Libertinism and Independence daily gaining ground through the artifices and unaccountable conduct of a few pretended patriots, but in reality enemies to the British Constitution." Toward the close of November, Peter De Lancey arrived from London, and with his arrival came the news that he had been appointed one of the inspectors of stamps of America; but finding the temper of the people to be what it was, he made a solemn renunciation of the office, which was published in Holt's "Gazette." Hood, the Maryland officer who, it will be remembered, took refuge in Fort George, was now residing at Flushing, where he was visited by a large delegation from New-York, and compelled to deliver a similar renunciation, which he did on November 28. That these men were Sons of Liberty, and that they were now associated under that name, appears in a letter of thanks of the date of March 6, 1766, from the Baltimore Society to the New-York Sons of Liberty, preserved in the Lamb papers.†

The first of these papers is that of November 21, already quoted, from Joseph Allicocke. The second is a communication dated Albany, January 15, 1766, addressed to Messrs. Joseph Allicocke and Isaac Sears, which announces the formation of a society in that town; it is signed "Albany." A letter signed "Son of Liberty," indorsed as from Mayor Durkee, dated Norwich, Conn., February 15, mentions a society in that town; it contained a copy of a letter from the Sons

* Unfortunately the journals of the house from this date to November 17, 1767, have been lost, it seems, irrevocably. The council minutes exist at Albany, but were never printed.

† A letter of thanks signed "Marylander," and addressed to the Sons of Liberty in New-York, appeared in Holt's paper on December 26, 1765.

Digitized by Google

of Liberty at Boston, which closed with the words: "We have nothing more to subjoin except the unanimous vote of thanks from our first-born Sons of Liberty throughout the Province of Massachusetts Bay, on the 27th of January, 1766." A communication from the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, dated February 15, 1766, declares their body not numerous, because of dissensions in provincial politics. A letter from the same place, the same day, is addressed to Messrs. Lamb, Sears, Robinson, Wiley, and Mott—the first mention found of a committee.* The society in Boston was governed by a privy council, as appears by a letter from Providence of February 7. From a copy of a letter from the New-York committee of February 20, it seems that this body submitted their resolves to a general meeting, and sent their circulars as far as Charleston by messengers, usually the post-riders. With this evidence the claim of New-York to have originated this practical scheme of an organization which united the colonies in a common purpose cannot be disputed; and this was the precursor of colonial union. Sears and Allicocke seem to have been the known authorities in New-York, and it was before them that James McEvers made his formal renunciation on December 2.

GENERAL THOMAS GAGE.

In addition to their political differences, there now arose constant quarrellings between the king's troops and the citizens. The royal

* Leake, in his life of John Lamb, asserts, but without naming any authority, that at the non-importation meeting of the merchants of New York, on October 31, it was proposed to raise a committee to correspond with the different colonies; that many leading names were proposed, but that the duty was declined, until at length five gentlemen, Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson, the most ardent of the associated Sons of Liberty, volunteered their services and were accepted. Dawson, in his "Sons of Liberty," accepts this statement; but, unsupported as it is by contemporaneous witness, it hardly seems credible that two hundred of the principal merchants of New York would have selected men of comparative insignificance to represent them in such important matters as were involved in their action. No imputation is here cast on the patriotism of any of these gentlemen, but question is made of their importance. Of the five the first two named were assuredly merchants and popular leaders, but not in harmony with the conservative mercantile class which controlled the meeting in question.

Digitized by Google

artillery, a party of whom had barely escaped with their lives when the mob sacked the house of their officer, Major James, while under their guard, held the Sons of Liberty in dire umbrage. Montresor relates that a member of the association was stabbed with a bayonet by one of the royal artillery, on December 1, 1765; and his journal of December 8 has an entry, "The Sons of Liberty, as they term themselves, openly defying powers, office, and all authority; sole rulers." On the 13th the officer commanding the man-of-war declared his obligation to seize "vessels cleared without stamps, whereon one returned to harbour." The excitement ran so high that Sir Henry Moore invited all the merchants to meet him at the fort on the evening of the 16th, that he might know who reported among them that he had given the officer of the man-of-war such advice. On the night of the 17th effigies of Lord Grenville and other obnoxious British leaders were paraded through the streets by a large crowd of people, and burned on the common. On the 19th "Freeman" again entreated the people to stand firm in the important and most alarming crisis. "Our business of all kinds is stopped, our vessels ready for sea blocked up in our harbours as if besieged by an enemy, great numbers of our poor people and seamen without employment and without support, . . . many families which used to live in comfortable plenty daily falling to decay for want of business." A sad picture. Six inches of snow had fallen the day before. On the 21st, thirty-five of the forty militiamen who under a magistrate nightly guarded the stamp papers, voted to burn them on their own responsibility. On the 23d a mob assembled to take the votes of the householders as to whether the papers should be burned or returned, but broke up without reaching a determination. On the 24th a mob gathered to destroy the residence of Captain Kennedy, but was prevented by the mayor's interposition.*

On the 25th it was proposed to the governor to issue a proclamation offering the post of stamp-distributer or stamp-master to any who would accept it, well aware that no such person could be found, and should none apply, to issue let-passes to vessels. Apparently the governor declined this subterfuge. The next day a Son of Liberty notified his brethren to be ready at a call when the common good should again require their exertions. Some enterprise was contemplated.

* Kennedy lived at the building long but erroneously known as Washington's Headquarters, number 1 Broadway; now the site of the Field Building.

Digitized by Google

The temper of the people now suddenly changed. Advertisements were posted about the streets threatening the effects and even the persons of the captains of the men-of-war should they dare to detain or even bring-to any vessel sailing without stamped clearances; and the year closed with an attempt to burn General Gage in effigy, which was averted only by the joint action of Gage and his officers. The cause of complaint was probably the active measures being taken to survey the town and adjacent country for military purposes. Thus ended this memorable year 1765, thenceforth distinguished in history as the year of the Stamp Act Congress. In the very last days of the year Watts justly characterized the temper of the people when he wrote, "he, Governor Colden, and the Stamp Act, at present are exactly alike, without a single friend." The assembly paid no attention to Colden's demand for so much of his salary as he had earned from the time of the last appropriation till the arrival of his successor; and while at a later session, they compensated Major James for his losses, they neglected to remunerate Colden for his damaged coach-house and burned chariot. Moreover, he was sharply censured and assured of his Majesty's displeasure by Secretary Conway for having waived the enforcement of the act until Sir Henry Moore's arrival.† It is proper to state here that while all classes were opposed to the use of stamps, the oppo-

KENNEDY AND WATTS HOUSES.*

* These houses occupied the lots Nos. 1 and 3 Broadway, where now stands the Field or Washington Building. Captain Archibald Kennedy later became Earl of Cassilis. He was related by marriage to the occupants of the adjoining house. John Watts, the elder, adhering to the Tories, at the time of the evacuation, in 1783, his property was subjected to confiscation, but it was restored finally to his son.

† In his complaint to the king, through his minister, Colden wrote in January that he wanted only one month of having "lived seventy-eight years complete, of which forty in the Council of the Province."

Digitized by Google

sition was clearly divided into two classes: first, those who proposed to abandon trade; second, those who insisted on its continuance without stamps; the first the men of property who dreaded illegal measures; the second the trading people whose support depended on their daily business.

Early in January, 1766, the plans of the Sons of Liberty to associate on a continental basis seem to have been completed, and the mask of secrecy was boldy thrown off in all the colonies. On the evening of Tuesday, January 7, a great number of gentlemen belonging to the Sons of Liberty met at the house of William Howard, an old place of entertainment which stood at the upper end of Broadway facing the common, upon a part of Trinity Church farm, and which thenceforward became their headquarters; and after unanimously declaring their opposition to the stamp act, a great majority agreed to a series of resolutions demanding and engaging action of the most vigorous nature toward all who "may either carry on their business on stamped paper or refuse to carry it on independently of the odious act." They then adjourned to meet again in the same place a fortnight later, and at similiar regular intervals thereafter. The same evening the British brig Polly arrived from London, whence she had sailed in October. Information being received that she had ten packages of stamps in her cargo, she was boarded the next night by a body of armed men as she lay at Cruger's dock, when the persons in charge were compelled to deliver up the keys and provide lights for a thorough search. The stamps were found, laden on a large boat, and taken up the East river to the ship-yards, where they were burned in tar barrels, after which the men dispersed in an orderly manner without the least alarm to the city. The next day placards all over the city declared the popular approbation of the bold act of the Sons.

Sir Henry Moore, who with General Gage had been secretly preparing for a possible enforcement of the act, now seems to have held it to be impossible with the forces at hand to carry out this purpose. There appears to have been some division of opinion in the councils of the Sons, perhaps because of the news, which came in on the 18th from Hartford, of a large assemblage there of men who desired a new system of government; some boldly demanding another Cromwell as protector. The majority of the New-York population was, as has been stated, truly loyal to the person of the king. Hence the fortnightly meeting in the Fields, for which great

Digitized by Google

preparations had been made, including supper, fell through, for so few attended that it broke up in disorder. Indeed, Montresor distinctly asserts this view in his diary, under January 18: "From the present crisis, if we may judge of the loyalty of most people here, they acknowledge the King, but not the power of Parliament." This same day another vessel arrived with stamped papers, which were safely lodged in the City Hall. As it was known that those intended for Connecticut were in the fort, the Sons of Liberty in council resolved that on the first news from England of a determination to enforce the act, they would seize and destroy them all, no matter in whose custody they might be. At the regular meeting of the Sons of Liberty, on February 2, a committee was appointed by unanimous consent to correspond with the Sons of Liberty in the neighboring colonies. This committee was composed of Messrs. Lamb, Sears, Robinson, Wiley and Mott. News now arrived of great disturbances in the southern colonies, particularly in Georgia, where the governor himself headed the troops. Governor Moore summoned his council and informed them of his Majesty's orders to put the act in force, but they again declared against the possibility of such action, the Sons of Liberty having openly threatened that they would "fight up to their knees in blood rather than suffer the stamp act to be put in force in this province, or, if they can assist, even in any others." Carriers and criers patrolled the streets shouting "the downfall of the Stamp Act," and bands of boys roamed about with candles and effigies.

(To be continued.)

Digitized by Google

THE HISTORY AND SIGNIFICATION OF SCALPING.*

It is true that scalping is not one of the most pleasing subjects to contemplate, but we should, I think, look at the shady as well as the lighter colors of a picture. It was certainly one of the best known to our intrepid pioneer ancestors all along the frontier, down to within little more than a century; and even on the very spot where we now stand, surrounded by the industry, wealth and enlightenment of this the greatest workshop the world has ever seen. We can hardly realize the changes that have taken place in that brief period of time, and in the fuss and flurry in which our lives are spent, we are too busy even to preserve the memories of them. The red race has gone forever from this section of country, and is fast disappearing from the whole continent; and we owe it to the cause of general knowledge—and I venture to say that we owe it also to the savages themselves—to place on record for future generations, when the Indians shall have entirely disappeared, an account, as full as may be, of their manners and customs. It may be said, and indeed with truth, that I have selected one of the most barbarous. But I am free to confess that it is one to which I have devoted much study for years; with these prefatory remarks I shall enter upon the subject.

The recent settlement of our country, and the many thrilling narratives of Indian depredations and barbarities we have listened to of a winter's evening in childhood, and read of in later years, may lead some among us to conclude that these atrocities, committed on his unfortunate prisoners, were peculiar to the American Indians. This is a mistake; many of those barbarous practices, as well as his customs and his weapons, are of great antiquity; but whether the savage came into possession of them by contact with the tribes of the Old World, where they were traditional, or whether he adopted them from necessity or the innate cruelty of his nature, it is needless to inquire at present. Among these customs, I have taken that of scalping; and as it is, as I have said, more than a century since the scalping knife was sheathed in this section of country, no one need fear for the safety of his locks.

* Read before the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania (Pittsburgh), Feb., 1894.

Digitized by Google

The custom of decapitating a fallen enemy and placing his head on a pole in the victor's city or camp, is of very great antiquity, and is referred to in a number of places in sacred scripture; but what relation it may have had to the custom now under consideration, it would, perhaps, be difficult to determine. An investigating mind might perhaps find a vestige of the custom of placing heads on poles, in some of the long-necked dudes of our day, brought about by a process of fore-shortening; and his surmises would be strengthened by the fact that not a few of them are certainly dead-heads.

I am not aware that scalping ever was, or is now, practised by the natives of South America or those of the South Sea Islands; but on this point I am not certain. Scalping was not peculiar to the North American Indians; on the contrary, as I have just remarked, it is of the greatest antiquity—so ancient in fact, that it can be traced to the boundary line of authentic history, and there lost in the mists of the pre-historic.

In entering upon an investigation of a subject of this kind, we naturally turn to the pages of Herodotus, the "Father of History;" and it would be difficult to describe the Indian custom of to-day more exactly than in his words, written nearly twenty-five centuries ago, and on the other side of the world. They are plain and simple, and pay little regard to the sensibilities of the reader; but I shall produce them as they stand. Describing the military affairs of the Scythians, he says that "when a Scythian overthrows his enemy, he . . . presents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle; for if he brings a head, he shares in the booty that they take, but not if he does not bring one. He skins it in the following manner. Having made a circular incision round the ears and taking hold of the skin, he shakes it from the skull; then having scraped off the flesh with the rib of an ox, he softens the skin with his hands, and having made it supple, he uses it as a napkin; each man hangs it on the bridle of the horse which he rides, and prides himself in it, for whoever has the greatest number of these skin napkins is accounted the most valiant man. Many of them make cloaks of these skins to throw over themselves, sewing them together like shepherds' coats."* May we not infer from these words that the heads placed on poles, as noted above, meant merely the scalps? I leave it to others to decide, but to me it does not seem at all improbable.

(iv., 64.)

Digitized by Google

Certain writers have also maintained that the sacred Scriptures furnish proof of the antiquity of scalping, and they appeal to the 21st verse of the 68th Psalm, according to the Hebrew, or the 67th, according to the Septuagint. In King James' Bible this verse is translated: "But God shall wound the head of His enemies, and the hairy scalp of such a one as goeth on still in his trespasses." The Latin Vulgate, as translated by the late Archbishop Kenrick, of Baltimore, reads: "But God shall break the heads of His enemies; the hairy crown of them that walk in sin." The Revised edition has it: "But God shall smite through the head of his enemies. The hairy scalp of such an one as goeth on still in his guiltiness."

It is a well ascertained fact that scalping was practised to some extent at least among certain nations of Europe as late as the eleventh century. The eminent historian Guizot, informs us that traces of this savage custom are found in the laws of the Visigoths, among the Franks, and even among the Anglo-Saxons; and Taine, another noted writer, states that, the ancient Scandinavians practised scalping; and that, when Harold Hare-foot, who died in the year 1040, seized his rival Alfred, with six hundred of his followers, among other cruelties which he inflicted on them was that of scalping. But let this suffice for the Old World; we now turn to the New.

Hubert Howe Bancroft, the historian of the Pacific coast, tells us that scalping was practised by the Indian tribes of California, although the custom was not general; and that the slaying of an enemy did not entitle the victor to any credit unless he could produce the scalp. Hence among them, as among all the tribes of North America, the savage who could boast the largest number of scalps, was accounted the greatest brave.* But there is perhaps no writer whose testimony on this subject is more reliable than that of George Catlin, who spent eight years—1832–1840, among the Indian tribes of the West, visiting nearly 50 nations, and noting their manners and customs. These he wrote up and illustrated with paintings, some of which are quaint enough, though true to nature. His work is republished by the press of the Smithsonian Institute.† He describes the custom and the manner of taking scalps, which accords perfectly with that of Herodotus, four hundred years before the beginning of the Christian era. § He says it is practised by all the North American Indians. "The scalp," he continues, "is taken from the head of an enemy killed in battle, and preserved and highly appreciated as the

* Native Races. † Part 1., 1885. § P. 412, et seq.

Digitized by Google

record of a death produced by the hand of the individual who possesses it, and may oftentimes, during his life, be of great service to a man living in a community where there is no historian to enroll the names of the famous—to record the heroic deeds of the brave—who have gained their laurels in mortal combat with their enemies; where it is as lawful and as glorious to slay an enemy as it is in Christian communities, and where the poor Indian is bound to keep the record himself, or be liable to lose it and the honor, for no one in the tribe will keep it for him." He further adds: "The scalp must be from the head of an enemy also, or it subjects the possessor to disgrace and infamy who carries it. There may be many instances where an Indian is justified, in the estimation of his tribe, in taking the life of one of his own people, and their laws are such as sometimes to make it his imperative duty; and yet no circumstance, however aggravating, will justify him, or release him from the disgrace of taking the scalp."

The Apostle of the Gentiles reminds us that evil communications corrupt good morals, and so it happened among the early settlers on this side of the water; for it was not long before the pale faces contracted the habit of taking scalps. Perhaps the first taken were, strange to say, by the sanctimonious Puritans of New England, during King Phillip's War. At least Drake, in his *Indians of North America*, informs his readers that, after a battle fought in the night of July 1–2, 1676, the scalps of three Indians that were killed, were taken off by the English, and sent to Boston. Speaking of the raid made by the New England soldiers on the Abnaki settlement on the Penobscot river, in Maine, of which the Jesuit Father Rasle was missionary, in 1724, he says: "Great brutality and ferocity are chargeable to the English in this affair, according to their own accounts; such as killing women and children, and scalping and mangling the body of Father Rasle." * It is a fact, that need only be stated, that the colonists of Pennsylvania, among others, offered a reward for both French and Indian scalps, in our early history. And this developed some of the latent Yankee in the friendly Indians, who soon learned to divide a scalp and make two of it. But there is often a ludicrous side to the most serious affairs. An Indian captured a white man on the frontier, and attempted to scalp him; but the hair came off without the use of the knife, and the savage in amazement gazed on the shining poll of his captive, and learned for the first time that there is such a thing as a false scalp—a wig.

* Page 311.

Digitized by Google

So much for the fact of taking scalps; let us now inquire into the reason.

Certain writers, and among them Drake and Catlin, say that they were taken to be used for the decoration of shields or personal garments. While this is certainly true, it manifestly does not go to the root of the question; for it prompts the very natural inquiry, why do the victors use them for such purposes? There must be a reason, and in that reason we shall discover the true motive for taking scalps as trophies of war. We shall pause then for a moment and inquire into this point. Rawlinson,* informs us that, "it was considered important that the number of the enemy who fell in battle should be accurately known; and, with this object in view, the Egyptian soldiers regarded it as their duty to cut off and carry to the camp some easily recognized portion of each fallen enemy's person. The right hand was the portion ordinarily selected." Evidences of this custom may also be found in the sacred Scriptures, especially in the closing verses of the 18th chapter of the II. Book of Samuel.

The value set upon the scalp-lock by its possessor is the true and only reason why it was valued by the victor. In this, and in this only, shall we find the true and correct solution of the question. An army does not pride itself on taking a few muskets from the enemy, but it does regard itself as fortunate if it can capture a flag. Witness how the Greeks and Romans fought for their standards, and how strongly the soldiers were attached to them. Instances are on record where the commander, the better to excite their courage, threw the standard into the ranks of the enemy, knowing well that they would readily sacrifice life itself rather than permit the enemy to bear away the Roman eagle. And why? Because it represented the majesty of the empire. Witness, too, how the flags taken from the enemy in the late unhappy Rebellion, are treasured by the regiments, that were so fortunate as to capture one of them. Now, we may say that the scalp-lock is to the individual what the standard is to the nation. Evidence of this is furnished from the earliest times, and its shadows reach out from the pre-historic.

If we are disposed to accept the theories of Ignatius Donnelly, as set forth in his *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World*, we shall find that the wearing of the scalp-lock originated among the peoples of that lost continent, and was carried by its inhabitants east and west to all parts of the present world. But that continent is lost with its people,

* Ancient History of Egypt, vol. i., p. 488.

Digitized by Google

its customs and its history, and can at best be little more than a subject of unfruitful speculation. Putting such speculation, however, aside, and coming down to authentic records, it is certain that the scalp-lock is found on Egyptian monuments to the present day, showing that it was a custom among that people, from the earliest times, to wear it as an ornament for the head. All are familiar with the scalp-lock of the North American Indians, and it is needless to refer to John Chinaman's and the Japanese's pig-tail. The Scriptures say that the glory of a woman is in her hair (I. Cor. xi:15); and it is certain that man in his uncivilized state has always prided himself in his scalp-lock. And it is because he valued it that his enemy considered himself fortunate in taking it. The true reason, then, why the warrior was anxious above all to secure the scalp of his enemy was because that enemy valued it. I think that no other explanation can be accepted. This is proven in a remarkable manner by the custom of the Indians. If one of them is wounded, even mortally, he tries by instinct to bury his head in the earth, so that his scalp shall not fall into the hands of the enemy; and if he is slain, his comrades will, if possible, carry him off the field for the same reason.

Inasmuch as it was deemed an honor with the rude son of the forest to take as many scalps as possible, it followed naturally that he would be desirous, on returning from battle, to show them with as much pomp as he could command in his rude condition. And it was equally natural for him to boast of them, when preparing for another raid into the enemy's country. This gave rise to two other customs; the scalp hallo and the scalp dance, upon each of which a few words will be said.

The description of the scalp hallo, as given by Colonel James Smith,* will be sufficient for our purpose; others could differ little from it. And it will be all the more interesting as it happened on the very ground we are now occupying. At the time of Braddock's defeat, in July, 1755, he was a prisoner at Fort Duquesne; and having, as he tells us, sufficiently recovered from the wounds he received at the time of his capture, he was permitted to walk out on the walls of the fort. This gave him the best opportunity not only of hearing, but also of seeing whatever transpired. Toward evening on the eventful 9th of July, several messengers came in one after another with the news that Braddock was certain to be defeated;

* Captivity[with the Indians, p. 12.

Digitized by Google

and he continues : "Some time after this I heard a number of scalp halloos and saw a company of Indians and French coming in. I observed they had a great many bloody scalps, grenadiers' caps, Brittish canteens, bayonets, &c., with them. They brought the news that Braddock was defeated. After that another company came in which appeared to be about one hundred, and chiefly Indians, and it seemed to me that almost every one of this company was carrying scalps; after this came another company with a number of waggon-horses, and also a great many scalps. Those that were coming in, and those that had arrived, kept a constant firing of small arms, and also the great guns in the fort, which were accompanied with the most hideous shouts and yells from all quarters; so that it appeared to me as if the infernal regions had broke loose." A few lines further on he makes a remark, which I shall quote on account of its striking contrast with the scalp hallo. He says : "When I returned to my lodgings I found Russell's Seven Sermons, which they had brought from the field of battle, which a Frenchman made a present of to me."

But among many tribes it was the custom when raids were made on the frontier, and only a small number of scalps were taken, for the returning braves, when they neared the village to give a scalp hallo for each one taken, and for the warriors in the village to answer in the same manner.

Among the Indians generally almost every important event is celebrated with a dance. A number of these dances are enumerated by Catlin; as, the buffalo dance, the medicine bag dance, the green corn dance, the snow shoe dance, the braves' dance, &c. The one, however, which concerns us at present, and which is perhaps the most universal, is the scalp dance. Catlin gives the following description of it as performed among the Sioux. Other tribes may have local peculiarities; but the dance is everywhere essentially the same. Says Catlin : "The scalp dance is given as a celebration of a victory, and amongst this tribe, as I learned whilst residing with them, danced in the night by the light of their torches, and just before retiring to bed. When a war party returns from a war excursion, bringing home with them the scalps of their enemies, they generally 'dance them' for fifteen nights in succession, vaunting forth the most extravagant boasts of their wonderful prowess in war, whilst they brandish their war weapons in their hands. A number of young women are selected to aid—though they do not actually join in the dance—by stepping into the centre of the ring and holding up the

Digitized by Google

scalps that have been recently taken, whilst the warriors dance—or rather jump—around in a circle, brandishing their weapons, and barking and yelping in the most frightful manner, all jumping on both feet at a time with a simultaneous stamp and blow and thrust of their weapons, with which it would seem as if they were actually cutting and carving each other to pieces. During these frantic leaps, and yelps, and thrusts, every man distorts his face to the utmost of his muscles, darting about his glaring eye-balls and snapping his teeth as if he were in the heat of battle, and actually breathing through his inflated nostrils the very hissing of death. No description that could be written could ever convey more than a feeble outline of the frightful effects of these scenes enacted in the dead and darkness of night, under the glaring light of their blazing flambeaux; nor could all the years allotted to mortal man in the least obliterate or deface the vivid impress that one scene of this kind would leave upon his memory."

But a training is necessary for every one who has a part to act in life; and this is as true of the rude son of the forest as it is of any one else. The American Indian had two great purposes in life; hunting and war; and the boys were carefully trained in both. Catlin, from whom I hove so often quoted, describes the school of war—the Indian West Point—in these words, speaking of the various amusements and plays of Indian children.* "Of these, one of the most pleasing is the sham fight and sham scalp dance of the Mandan boys, which is a part of their regular exercise, and constitutes a material branch of their education. During the pleasant mornings of the summer the little boys between the ages of seven and fifteen are called out to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on in the character of teacher. They are led out into the prairie at sunrise, when this curious discipline is regularly taught them. Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand, and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one has also a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood, and equally harmless; on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of

* Pp. 318, 319.

Digitized by Google

Indian warfare ; of feints, of retreats, of attacks and at last to a general fight. Many manœuvres are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face, within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

"If any one is struck with an arrow on any vital part of the body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of the battle." The boys have also their scalp-dance, which the same writer describes in these brief terms: "Those who have taken scalps then,"—after they have returned to their camp—"step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the scalp-dance—in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers,—jumping and yelling, brandishing their scalps, and reciting their sanguinary deeds, to the great astonishment of their tender-aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them."

One more point, and I have done. What, finally, becomes of the scalp? Here, again, Catlin should be our guide. He says:* "The motive—or motives—for which this strict ceremony"—of the scalp-dance—"is so scrupulously held by all the American tribes over the scalp of an enemy is a subject as yet not satisfactorily settled in my mind. There is no doubt but one great object in these exhibitions is public exultation ; yet there are several conclusive evidences that there are other and essential motives for thus formally and strictly displaying the scalp. Amongst some of the tribes it is the custom to bury the scalp after they have gone through this series of public exhibitions ; which may in a measure have been held for the purpose of giving them notoriety, and of awarding public credit to the persons who obtained them, and now, from a custom of the tribes, are obliged to part with them. The great respect which seems to be paid to them whilst they use them, as well as the pitying and mournful song which they howl to the *manes* of their unfortunate victims, as well as the precise care and solemnity with which they afterwards bury the scalps, sufficiently convince me that they have a superstitious dread of the spirits of their slain enemies and many concili-

* Page 309.

Digitized by Google

atory offices to perform to insure their own peace, one of which is the ceremouy above described." So far as my own personal readings have extended, I do not remember to have met with any remarks on the final destiny of the scalps taken by the tribes which inhabited this section of country when the pale faces first disputed its possession with the red men.

Such, then, is a brief account of one of the most barbarous customs of savage warfare, which has happily disappeared, or all but disappeared, from every part of the world, before the march of modern civilization, after having held sway from the hazy period of pre-historic times.

A. A. LAMBING.

Digitized by Google

CONTENDING FOR A CONTINENT.*

The story of the conflict between England and France for the possession of North America had been carried by Mr. Parkman beyond the period of these volumes. The final act in this prolonged drama was set before the admiring public in *Montcalm and Wolf;* and the "catastrophe" had its climacteric episode upon the Plains of Abraham. So again this epoch of fifty years (1700–1750, in round figures) was preceded by several of his narratives, as he calls them, so that as we read them in the order of the periods of which they treat, chronologically, we were made to look first of all upon the earliest voyagers, the *Pioneers of France in the New World*, including Champlain and Cartier, as well as those who were the victims and those who were the avengers of the Spanish outrage upon the coasts near Florida. The prominent part which the Jesuits played in the endeavors of France to secure a hold in the Western Hemisphere, deserved and received a due share of the historian's attention, and it is especially in the more heroic period of their labors and sufferings, which Mr. Parkman not inaptly calls the "Apostolic," when their aim was religious rather than political, that he tells the thrilling story of their heroism and martyrdom. A fine chapter in this history of new France, is that of the exploration by La Salle and other Frenchmen of the entire length of the Mississippi, from near its source to its issue into the Mexican Gulf, resulting in the magnificent claim set up by France to that immense territory, which was denominated Louisiana, and which embraced all the region west of the Mississippi as far as the Rocky Mountains. In the *Old Régime in Canada*, there was already a reaching forth into the period covered by the present volumes, but the discussion was confined to general topics, and in a very instructive way we were there made acquainted with principles of colonial policy, as exibited in the populating of the country, the manner of conducting mercantile enterprises, the military and ecclesiastical systems, through an entire century and up to 1763, when the Peace of Paris had ended the Seven Years' War in Europe, and the French and Indian War in America, and Canada had ceased to be French. To get a complete and satisfactory survey of the

* A HALF-CENTURY OF CONFLICT, by Francis Parkman, 2 vols. Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1892. (Part VI. of *France and England in North America.*)

Digitized by Google

advantages and disadvantages of the old régime, it was necessary to thus anticipate the end, and it was therefore in accord with the most approved historical method. We find Gibbon thus occasionally anticipating the centuries still to follow in his narrative, for a rapid survey of the outlines, that thus the minute workings of the causes of events may be subsequently studied and understood the more effectively. The mistakes of the old régime in Canada abundantly account for the final decay of New France, and prepared the way for the decisive blow given on the Plains of Abraham. After La Salle's exploit, and before the close of the seventeenth century, stirring events took place in which the Canadian governor, Frontenac, bore a leading part; and a narrative of his deeds and of the conduct of affairs while Louis XIV. was attaining the zenith of his glory, afforded an opportunity for many a brilliant page of historical writing.

There remained therefore the hiatus of years between 1700 and 1750. There were threads of narrative running somewhat aimlessly, or somewhat disconnectedly, into these years from the histories presented before, or led on into those coming after. Thus upon a map we see the slender beginnings of great rivers interlocking in certain spots, for which no explanation arrives until we study the watersheds. It is the office of this work to pick up these threads of history, and to give them a place. But even this does not remove the impression of disconnectedness. Critics have complained of the lack of unity in these volumes, as compared with the other narratives. The objection is well taken, but the fault is inevitable. The years had to be treated to make the story complete, though there was no great person, or policy, or incident, about which to group the others, in this half-century. But the value of the work consists in the fact that it fulfills its office, supplies the missing link in the chain, and the hand of the master is not to be concealed even though the pictures he presents are necessarily disconnected.

As already observed the period covered is, in round numbers, from 1700 to 1750. Two epochs stand out prominently from the rest, and they are the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe (1702–1713), or Queen Anne's War, in America; and the War of the Austrian Succession, or King George's War (1744–1748). Geographically considered the dimensions are much vaster than those of time. We are carried to the Black Hills of Dakotah, and get a glimpse even of the Rockies. But in the period of the wars, the

Digitized by Google

attention is divided between the borders of New England, and the regions of Acadia, or Nova Scotia.

The condition in which we find Canada, or New France, in 1700, is of course the result of all that has gone before. Professor Fiske in his *Discovery of America*, remarks: "The exploration of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi valleys, with the determination of their relations to each other, was the most important inland work done in the course of American discovery. It was done by a succession of great Frenchmen, among whose names those of Champlain and La Salle are the most illustrious; and was the result of the general system upon which French colonization in America, so different from English colonization, was conducted." * The difference in the systems, the principles, and the effects of English and French colonization, is strongly brought out by Mr. Parkman, in the Introduction to his *Pioneers of France in the New World:*

> By name, local position and character one of these communities of freemen stands forth as the most conspicuous representative of this antagonism;—Liberty and Absolutism, New England and New France. The one was the offspring of a triumphant government; the other, of an oppressed and fugitive people; the one, an unflinching champion of the Roman Catholic reaction; the other, a vanguard of the Reform. Each followed its natural laws of growth, and each came to its natural result. Vitalized by the principles of its foundation, the Puritan commonwealth grew apace. New England was pre-eminently the land of material progress. . . . . We turn to New France, and all is reversed. Here was a bold attempt to crush under the exactions of a grasping hierarchy, to stifle under the curbs and trappings of a feudal monarchy, a people compassed by the wildest freedom . . . . . The growth of New England was a result of the aggregate efforts of a busy multitude, each in his narrow circle toiling for himself, to gather competence and wealth. The expansion of New France was the achievement of a gigantic ambition striving to grasp a continent. It was a vain attempt. Long and valiantly her chiefs upheld their cause, leading to battle a vassal population, warlike as themselves, borne down by numbers from without, wasted by corruption from within. New France fell at last; and out of her fall grew revolutions whose influence, to this hour, is felt through every nation of the civilized world.

In the contention for the North American continent, France proceeded upon the assumption that it was already hers. When she sent forth her explorers into the Great West, or these bold men struck out into the interminable wilderness of their own motion,—it was on the

* In a foot note Professor Fiske gives his opinion of Mr. Parkman's works. It is interesting to observe what the one charming narrator thinks of the other. Commenting on Canadian history Mr. Fiske says: "It is full of romantic incident, and abounds in instructive material for the philosophical student of history. It has been fortunate in finding such a narrator as Mr. Francis Parkman, who is not only one of the most picturesque historians since the days of Herodotus, but likewise an investigator of the highest order for thoroughness and accuracy."

Digitized by Google

ground that she needed to know what her vast possession was like, and that she ought to be improving it. Mr. Parkman calls attention to the fact that the "English communities took little thought of the region beyond the Alleghanies. Each lived a life of its own, shut within its own limits, not dreaming of a future collective greatness to which the possession of the west would be a necessary condition . . . . If the English speaking populations flowed westward, it was in obedience to natural laws, for the King did not aid the movement, the royal governors had no authority to do so, and the colonial assemblies were too much engrossed with immediate local interests." On the contrary, the whole machinery of the French colonial government was directed to expand the sway of the nation over the west, and it was the purpose of many a bold adventurer to make that sway something more than nominal. It is indeed almost amusing to observe how entirely the French took for granted that North America was theirs. In serious private papers and in public documents this was asserted, with the necessary corollary that England was an intruder who should be ejected, but might be tolerated. Mr. Parkman has unearthed one of these curious documents. By virtue of Verrazano's voyage in 1524, the entire North American continent is herein coolly claimed for France, the voyages of the Cabots in 1497 and 1498, being as coolly ignored. But the fact that the English have established colonies along the Atlantic coast, is accepted, and while by all right and reason they ought to go, yet the King of France would not insist on this, as he "loves the English nation too much," to go to extremes in the matter. "The King will forego his rights, and grant to England the whole Atlantic coast from the 32nd degree of latitude to the Kennebec, to the extent inland of twenty French leagues (about fifty miles,) on condition that she will solemnly bind herself never to overstep these limits or encroach in the least on French ground."

It was better for France and a more threatening danger to the English colonies, that apart from this amusing theorizing, her sons went to work to occupy the great territories made accessible by the explorations of the Mississippi and its tributaries. At the very beginning of the century, a French trading and military post was established at Detroit, Michigan. Such a stronghold had already been established for several years at the conjunction of Lakes Superior and Huron, commanding the regions about the shores of the former great inland sea. The reach of the control established

Digitized by Google

at this latter station went forth into another far western country, lying south of the head of lake Michigan, and even into and beyond the valley of the Mississippi. Mr. Parkman characterizes its strategical importance thus: "It was the key of the three upper lakes, with the vast countries watered by their tributaries, and it gave Canada her readiest access to the valley of the Mississippi. . . . . The possesssion of it by the French would be a constant menace and curb to the Five Nations, as well as a barrier between those still formidable tribes and the Western Indians, allies of Canada."

It had been a very early conception of French brains, not only to explore the west, but to utilize their knowledge of the west, and of the way to it, by erecting forts at critical points, where the approach to this wide wilderness could be most effectively disputed. Mr. Parkman shows how thoroughly this scheme had been carried to execution.

Toward the middle of the century, he says, they had occupied points controlling all the chief waterways between Canada and Louisiana. Niagara held the passage from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. Detroit closed the entrance to Lake Huron, and Michillimackinac guarded the point where Lake Huron is joined by Lakes Michigan and Superior; while the fort called La Baye, at the head of Green Bay, stopped the way to the Mississippi by Marquette's old route of Fox River and the Wisconsin. Another route to the Mississippi was controlled by a post on the Maumee, to watch the carrying place between that river and the Wabash, and by another on the Wabash where Vincennes now stands. La Salle's route, by way of the Kankakee and the Illinois, was barred by a fort on the St. Joseph; and even if, in spite of these obstructions, an enemy should reach the Mississippi by any of its northern affluents, the cannon of Fort Chartres would prevent him from descending it.

It is pleasant to turn away from the warfare and carnage going on at the eastern side of the continent, and to lose one's self with the explorers upon the pathless prairies of the great west. One party under Le Sueur followed the Mississippi up into what is now the State of Minnesota. Others were induced to follow the Missouri, the Red River, and the Arkansas. It was the great object of the explorers of these parts to reach New Mexico, and establish commercial relations with the Spanish settlements, or discover gold mines of their own. At last two brothers, named Mallet, with six companions, succeeded in reaching Santa Fé. They went up the Platte river to its South Fork. Following the latter for some distance, they finally crossed the plains of Colorado, forded the upper Arkansas, and reached their destination in July, 1739. Explorations

Digitized by Google

in the north were stimulated by the desire to reach the "Western Sea," or Pacific. Among those active here was Charlevoix, the historian. He advised following the Missouri to its sources, which he deemed not far from this sea. Finally an officer of the name of La Vérendrye, and his two sons, enlisted in the enterprise, who while they failed in reaching the Pacific, in the course of their endeavors explored vast portions of the Northwest, and they reached the Black Hills. Mr. Parkman's graphic descriptions make the pages where he tells of these daring adventures, very interesting reading; he proves indeed that "as a bold and hardy pioneer of the wilderness, the Frenchman in America has rarely found his match." With light heart and exulting spirit he marched through forest and over plain, till he had seen something of the nature and extent of that country which he called Louisiana, and over which his king ruled. But well does Mr. Parkman ask, (in another work) "What now remains of the Sovereignty? Now and then the accents of France on the lips of some straggling boatman or vagabond half-breed—this, and nothing more."

Leaving the west and its exploration to stand as an episode by itself, we now turn to New England and Acadia. Here the sounds of war fall upon the ear, and the phases of that war are often so petty, yet so savage and cruel, that there is nothing ennobling in the contemplation. Upon the Atlantic coast, too, the contention for America was active between the two nations, and success trembled in the balance between them; whereas, in the west it was only theory clashing against theory, while the French were the only ones to reduce the theory to fact.

The War of the Spanish Succession, or Queen Anne's War, was waged in Europe between England and France, and should have been waged in America between the French colonies and all of the English. It is a fact, however, that the burden of the barbarities of the war fell only upon New England. The reasons for this concentration of evils upon one frontier only, are carefully elaborated by our historian. "The Dutch traders of Albany and the important merchants at New York, [both English and Dutch] who supplied them with Indian goods, had a strong interest in preventing active hostilities with Canada, which would have spoiled their trade. So, too, and for similar reasons, had influential persons in Canada. The French authorities, moreover, thought it impolitic to harass the frontiers of New York by war parties, since the Five

Digitized by Google

Nations might come to the aid of their Dutch and English allies, and so break the peaceful relations which the French were anxious to maintain with them." This furnishes a rather discouraging view of the patriotism of the colonists, or of their care for the safety or prosperity of one another. But the searching light of history reveals a more discouraging indifference and hardness of soul than this. The Dutch traders or New York merchants were at least of no kin to the New England colonists, and might have some excuse for a lack of sympathy. New England had been just as indifferent to New York, when desolation swept its frontiers in 1690 ; and the other colonies had done no better. " New York had been the bulwark of the colonies farther south, who, feeling themselves safe, had given their protector little help, and that little grudgingly, seeming to regard the war as no concern of theirs." The verdict of the historian is unanswerable, while humiliating : " Each province lived in selfish isolation, recking little of its neighbor's woes." But even provinces that were almost parts of one another, such as New Hampshire and Massachusetts, were guilty of this incredible indifference to each other's perils. A fort having been built by Massachusetts on lands in dispute between them, and the question having been decided in favor of New Hampshire, Massachusetts withdrew the garrison, leaving her sister province to defend her own territory. " This," says Mr. Parkman, " the assembly of that province refused to do, on the ground that the fort was fifty miles from any settlement made by New Hampshire people, and was therefore useless to them, though of great value to Massachusetts as a cover to Northfield and other of her settlements lower down the Connecticut, to protect which was no business of New Hampshire ! " And this after the frightful massacres which had occurred in that very district some years before.

These volumes take us over the familiar ground of the assaults upon the villages of Deerfield, Haverhill, and others. These tales of horror are told with great vividness, with all that power of description of which the author is capable. We can not wonder that there was aroused a great and deep feeling of indignation against the French, which led the colonies to take up the war against them with great earnestness in the years to come. It seems hardly possible that a civilized and Christian nation could have been guilty of the outrage of launching wild savages in lawless warfare against almost defenceless tillers of the soil. Yet the War of the Revolution

Digitized by Google

showed that the English were capable of the same reckless cruelty and unlawful warfare in the employment of Indians.

The French at least had a worldly-wise policy in view in committing the Indian tribes of the east to acts of hostility against the English. Mr. Parkman very fairly shows what their policy was: "The policy of the French authorities on the frontier of New England was the opposite of their policy on the frontier of New York. They left the latter undisturbed, lest by attacking the Dutch and English settlers they should stir up the Five Nations to attack Canada; while on the other hand, they constantly spurred the Abenakis against New England, in order to avert the dreaded event of their making peace with her." And he introduces elsewhere a word of caution in the matter of Indian cruelties, which will correct certain notions of those who are given to sentimentalism on the question of the Indian character: "The primitive Indian was quite able to enact such tragedies without the help of Europeans. Before French or English influence had been felt in the interior of the continent, a great part of North America was the frequent witness of scenes still more lurid in coloring, and on a larger scale of horror."

It would be superfluous in such a paper as this to transfer to these pages the details of such well known incidents as the Deerfield and Haverhill massacres. But a paragraph or two illustrating the vividness of the story as given by Mr. Parkman, will be in place.

As the afternoon waned, the sights and sounds of the little border hamlet (Deerfield) were no doubt like those of any other rustic New England village at the end of a winter day. . . . . Deerfield kept early hours, and it is likely that by nine o'clock all were in their beds. There was a patrol inside the palisade, but there was little discipline among these extemporized soldiers; the watchers grew careless as the frosty night went on: and it is said that towards morning they, like the villagers, betook themselves to their beds. . . . . Heavy snows had lately fallen and buried the clearings, the meadow, and the frozen river to the depth of full three feet. On the northwestern side the drifts were piled nearly to the top of the palisade fence, so that it was no longer an obstruction to an active enemy. . . . . Rouville and his men, savage with hunger, lay shivering under the pines till about two hours before dawn; then leaving their snow shoes and their packs behind, they moved cautiously towards their prey. . . . . No alarm was given till they had mounted the palisade and dropped silently into the unconscious village. Then with one accord they screeched the warwhoop, and assailed the doors of the houses with axes and hatchets. The hideous din startled the minister, Williams, from his sleep. Half-awakened, he sprang out of bed, and saw dimly a crowd of savages bursting through the shattered door.

Digitized by Google

In vivid review is made to pass before us by the skill of the historian, the barbarities of that attack, the march to Canada, feeble women forced to wade through the snow and to cross icy fords; Mrs. Williams, from weakness, falling into the stream, and brained by the tomahawk in very mercy, as her exhausted limbs refused to carry her up the opposite bank.

The scene of conflict was shifted from New England to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, in both the Queen Anne's and King George's wars. It was felt absolutely necessary to assume the offensive, and the first point gained was Port Royal or Annapolis. Yet while this attempt proved to be a success it was a sort of anti-climax to a much more ambitious scheme. Before the close of the seventeenth century the colonies had for a brief moment acted in concert and concocted a plan of attack on Canada. But provincial jealousies had ruined the scheme before a blow had been struck. The second invasion of Canada did not advance much further. Elaborate preparations were made; the colonies were to furnish the land forces, and march through the New York wilderness to Lake Champlain and thus descend on Montreal, while a formidable fleet from England should come to Boston, and sail thence into the St. Lawrence to take Quebec. The colonial forces under Colonel Nicholson arrived at the head of Lake Champlain. Thence they were to start and complete their journey, upon receiving word that the English fleet had left Boston. The English fleet did not leave Boston, as it never came there, but was sent to Lisbon instead. Hence the army under Nicholson did not march beyond their camp at Wood Creek, and was wasted away with disease before the word of the failure of the fleet was received. "They were to have reached Boston by the middle of May. Sunderland's notice of the change of destination was not written till the 27th of July, [1709] and was eleven weeks on its way, thus imposing on the colonists a heavy and needless tax in time, money, temper, and in the case of the expedition against Montreal, health and life. The miserable ending of so ambitious a plan did not dishearten, however much it disgusted, the New England colonies. Their governors, assembled in Boston, at once proposed to turn the forces at hand against Port Royal (now Annapolis). But there was putting off and backing down again on the part of the home authorities, and not till the next year was the expedition organized. With much ado the feeble fortress was taken, and Acadia became English property.

Digitized by Google

The genius of Longfellow has made Acadia a household word. The sad story of Grand Pré, with its families separated and driven into homeless exile; the woes of Evangeline and her lover,—are familiar to us as those of some of our own acquaintances. And with abounding indignation have we learned to denounce the British tyrants who could thus wantonly and suddenly hurl desolation into these abodes of rural and innocent happiness. It will no doubt be impossible to ever quite divest ourselves of this indignation, which remains in a measure just, for the administrators of the edict of removal can not be freed from the charge of unnecessary cruelty. And the edict itself was a harsh one, whatever justification there might be for it. But justification for it we must allow that there was. The poet's glowing lines leave us unprepared for this admission; but the historian's cooler judgment enables us to discover a reason for the act. The pages of Mr. Parkman's volumes give abundant evidence that the Acadians were not such a harmless inoffensive class of people as we had supposed. Their position was a difficult and perplexing one, indeed; sworn to allegiance to England, yet not held in control by a sufficient force; while their hearts leaned to France, and their priests labored among them to keep them true to France. "The political work of the missionaries," says Mr. Parkman, "began with the cession of the colony, and continued with increasing activity till 1755, kindling the impotent wrath of the British officials, and drawing forth the bitter complaints of every successive governor." But while their perplexity was great, they allowed themselves to be used to advance the interests of France, and failed often to care for those of England. Into the events immediately preceding or attending the final catastrophe the author does not enter, as they are quite beyond the time or topic of his present work. But he records the first intimation of the fate that was before them.

> From the first outbreak of the war [King George's] it was evident that the French built their hopes of recovering Acadia largely on a rising of the Acadians against the English rule, and that they spared no efforts to excite such a rising. Early in 1745, a violent and cruel precaution against this danger was suggested. William Shirreff, provincial secretary, gave it as his opinion that the Acadians ought to be removed, being a standing menace to the colony. This is the first proposal of such a nature that I find. Some months later Shirley writes that on a false report of the capture of Annapolis by the French, the Acadians sang *Te Deum*, and that every sign indicates that there will be an attempt in the spring to capture Annapolis, with their help. Again Shirley informs Newcastle that the French will get possession of Acadia unless the most dangerous of the inhabitants are removed, and English settlers put in their place.

Digitized by Google

The famous expedition of Walker and Hill, toward the close of Queen Anne's War—when the English fleet actually came to Boston, but the enterprise failed just as signally—affords an opportunity for Mr. Parkman's most luminous narration. Then came the peace or treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, followed by thirty years of nominal peace. In America the conflict or contention for the continent was not interrupted for a moment. "The peace left the embers of war still smouldering, sure, when the time should come, to burst into flame. The next thirty years were years of chronic, smothered war, disguised, but never quite at rest." The standing subjects of dispute were three, our historian proceeds to say. There was that of Acadia; there was that of the boundaries of New England; and "last and greatest was the question whether France or England should hold the valleys of the Mississippi and the great lakes, and with them the virtual control of the continent."

At last the war of the Austrian succession brought the nations of Europe into conflict, and caused open and declared hostilities to break out into what is known as King George's War in America.

It was signalized by the taking of the fortress and city of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Isle, an exploit the merit of which entirely belongs to New England audacity and hardihood. The peculiar nature of the scheme is strongly brought out by Mr. Parkman. Indeed he entitles the chapter which introduces the episode: "A Mad Scheme." And so it was; success made it a glorious scheme; but its failure—which alone could have been anticipated from a purely military standpoint—would have stamped it as mad beyond all redemption. The incidents are too well known to need reference here; but we can not resist the temptation of closing with a citation showing how our author loves to linger by the way, as he tells of great historic movements, to indulge his descriptive vein. Having spoken of the appointment of William Pepperell, the merchant, as commander in chief of this expedition against the strongest fortress, next to Quebec, in America, he gives a description of his home:

> His spacious house at Kittery Point still stands, sound and firm, though curtailed in some of its proportions. Not far distant is another noted relic of colonial times, the not less spacious mansion built by the disappointed Wentworth, at Little Harbor. I write these lines at a window of this curious old house, and before me spreads the scene familiar to Pepperell from childhood. Here the river Piscataqua widens to join the sea, holding in its gaping mouth the large island of New Castle, with attendant groups of islets and island rocks, battered with the rack of ages, studded with dwarf savins, or half clad with patches of whortleberry bushes,

Digitized by Google

sumac and the shining wax-myrtle, green in summer, red with the touch of October. The flood tide pours strong and full around them, only to ebb away and lay bare a desolation of rocks and stones buried in a shock of brown drenched seaweed, broad tracks of glistening mud, sandbanks black with mussel-beds, and half submerged meadows of eel grass, with myriads of minute shell-fish clinging to its long lank tressess. Beyond all these lies the main, or northern channel, more than deep enough, even when the tide is out, to float a line-of-battle-ship. On its farther bank stands the old house of the Pepperells, wearing even now an air of dingy respectability. Looking through its small, quaint window-panes, one could see across the water the rude dwellings of fishermen along the shore of New Castle, and the neglected earthwork called Fort William and Mary, that feebly guarded the river's mouth. In front, the Piscataqua, curving southward, widened to meet the Atlantic, between rocky headlands and foaming reefs, and in dim distance the Isles of Shoals seemed floating on the pale gray sea.

LEONARD IRVING.

Digitized by Google

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT

LETTER OF COL. RICHARD VARICK—1783.*

"On Saturday the 3d. inst. His Excellency the Commander in chief & the Governor attended by John Morin Scott Esquire, Lt Colns. Trumbull, Cobb, Humphreys & Varick went down in a barge from Head Quarters dined with M. Genl. Knox, commandr. of West Point, lodged at Peekskill & arrived at Tappan Sloat on Sunday abt. 10 o'clock, where Major Fish had arrived with a command of four Companies of Light Infantry of the line of the Army the night preceding; the Company after taking a small repast at the Sloat, which was there prepared by Mr. Saml. Francis (commonly called Black Sam) who came up from N. Y. to superintend the Entertainment on the part of the American Commander in Chief, the Genl. Govr. & Co proceeded to Orange Town where a Dinner was prepared. Sir Guy embarked on Board of the Perseverance Frigate a 36 Gun Ship one of the new construction & best in the B. Navy on Sunday the 11th, at 12 o'clock, but did not arrive till Monday evening, he having previously dispatched Major Beckwith his Aid de Camp to announce his approach who came in at Orangetown abt. 5 o'clock, from whence Lt. Coll. Humphrys attended him on Board the Perseverance to be informed by Sir Guy when he would wish to land. Sir Guy having stipulated the Time of Landing; His Excellency the Commander in chief attended by two aides de Camp

RICHARD VARICK.

* Pending the evacuation of New York city in 1783 several interesting meetings of the British and American military authorities took place. The letter here presented and dated May 18th, 1783, gives a graphic description of these events. Colonel Varick became a member of General Washington's military family after the defection of Arnold, whose aide-de-camp he was at that time. A court of inquiry fully exonerated him from any complicity in Arnold's treason. He acted as recording secretary to Washington till near the close of the war and had charge of his confidential papers. He was recorder of New York City from the evacuation until 1789. He died in 1831 at the age of seventy-eight.

Digitized by Google

only (Humphrys & Cobb) went down to Onderdonck's in Tappan Bay & rec^{d} Sir Guy at landing & after the Ceremonies of Landing & shaking Hands were over received Sir Guy in his four Horse Carriage & came up to Orange Town attended by L^{t} Gov^{r} And^{w} Elliot & Ch. Justice W^{m} Smith (who chose to walk it up ab^{t} 3 miles) & M^{r} Secretary Morgan, Majors Beckwith & Upham, aide de Camp, Capt^{n} Lutwyche of the Perseverance & young M^{r} John White a midshipman of the Quebec Frigate son of Henry White, Esquire of New York. They were received and saluted at Tappan by Major Fish's Detachment with drums beating and Colours flying & afterwards in the same manner by Capt^{n} Hamtrancks' Company of the 2nd N. York Light Infantry which was on duty at the Commander and Chief's Quarters. They were introduced by Gen^{l} Washington to Gov^{r}. Gen^{l} Scott and the other gentlemen & soon after they retired to a Room to open the Business of the Interview which was opened by the Commander in Chief in a masterly Manner & then replied to by Sir Guy after which much General Conversation took place on the Subject of the Treaty and the Transactions incident thereto and already executed & yet to take place a short detail of which as far as

*Andrew Elliot was born in Scotland, in 1728, and though of a noble family, but the third son, he found it expedient to enter upon a mercantile career. At the age of eighteen, he left home for America, formed a partnership with another young Scotchman, and set up a store in Philadelphia. He prospered greatly in his business and accumulated a fortune. On a visit to Scotland with his family in 1763, he was appointed collector of the port of New York, and he therefore transferred his residence to this city. During the British occupation he was made lieutenant-governor under the royal military governor James Robertson. He resided at a country-seat called "Minto" (as he was a connection of the Earl of Minto), on the Bowery Road, about two miles from the city, near where the Stewart Building now stands, on Fourth Avenue. He signalized himself particularly by his kindness and services to American prisoners of war. At the evacuation in 1873 he sailed for England, but as an evidence of the esteem in which he was held, his property was not confiscated, although his wife's in Philadelphia was. In 1790, he was urged to accept the position of British minister to the United States, but declined. He died in May, 1797, at Mount Teviot, Roxburgshire, Scotland.

Digitized by Google

respects the Gov^{r} (whom I attended, not conceiving myself at liberty from my relation in public Duty with the Comm^{r} in chief to go further) I will subjoin. About three hours after (ab^{t} 4 o'clock) a most Sumptuous Dinner was prepared by M^{r} Francis & ab^{t} 30 of us (being then joined by Mess^{rs} Duer Parker, Lt Col^{l} W^{m} Smith Comm^{g} of Pres^{t} Major Fish and some of his officers and some others) sat down & eat and drank *in Peace* and good fellowship, without drinking any *Toasts*, and ab^{t} 6, Sir Guy and his associates retired. In the Evening, letters were written by the Gen^{l} & Gov^{r} on the subject of the days Interview, to Sir Guy which were dispatched the next morning on Board the Perseverance & Answers expected in the next day. But Sir Guy's Illness of an Ague which he caught before he embarked or on Board Ship, prevented answers till lately. On Wednesday the Commander in chief, the Gov^{r}, Gen^{l} Scott Lt Col^{l} Humphrys, Cobb, Trumbull, Smith & Varick & Major Fish & Mess^{rs} Duer & Parker went to dine on Board Ship then lying off our post at Dobb's Ferry, on our coming on Board the Marines were paraded & saluted & soon after 17, 24 pounders fired and then detached conferences took place. Sir Guy was confined to his Bed till after Dinner. An Elegant Dinner (tho' not equal to the American) was prepared & we sat down in perfect Harmony & conviviality. When Sir Guy's fit went off, he came up & returned to his Cabin attended by our Comm^{r} in Chief & after a Conference of a short Duration between the two Gen^{ls} we prepared for our return & were saluted in the same Manner & with 17 pieces. Thus ended that great formal Business & the next morning (the 8th) Sir Guy went to Town and we up the Hudson. Sir Guy proposed giving up Westchester County to the State which took place by withdrawing his Troops from Morrisania on the 14th. All the rest of the posts will be given up early as possibly they can. The first division of Cornwallis' Army have already arrived in New York last week & the others are coming in rapidly to comply with our part of the provisional Treaty—I hope to see you soon in our Capital."

Digitized by Google

DAVENPORT AND ITS ENVIRONS.—III.

The Davenport Academy of Science is an institution that has made the name of the city known and respected among scientists the world over. For many years before it had an existence in name, there were a few citizens, who, according to their respective tastes, in leisure hours, were examining the rocks to extract from them some new and hidden treasure, searching in forests, fields, and glens for botanical specimens, exploring the rivers and creeks for shells, and on lawn and in garden pursuing the butterfly to add to their private collections. Though working in different fields a bond of sympathy was established between these various collectors that resulted in many a friendly conference, and finally in the formation of a society for scientific research and the dissemination of scientific knowledge. This society celebrated its quarter centennial in the year 1892. Among those interested in the movement at its beginning were Dr. C. C. Parry, the eminent botanist, and Professor Sheldon, then President of Griswold College. The original members, by the donation of their valuable collections to the new society, established the nucleus for the present museum, which is acknowledged to be the most important in the west. Without capital, endowment or income, occupying a field that cannot be called popular, the Academy has achieved a marvellous success, and can be counted among the few prominent organizations of the kind in the country. Five volumes of published Proceedings have carried the work of its members into all the libraries of the world, and brought in exchange the publications of other scientific bodies to enrich its own library. The Academy possesses and occupies its own building situated in a favorable locality, built upon ground donated by Mrs. P. V. Newcomb. The vast treasure-house, for such the building is, is an evidence of the generosity of Davenport's public spirited citizens. In it are housed and displayed many thousand specimens, embracing Geological, Botanical, Zoölogical and Ethnological, including the world-famous Inscribed Tablets and Elephant Pipe.

Its library contains nearly 28,000 volumes; many rare, costly and beautifully illustrated works are to be found on the library shelves. The Academy is open daily to visitors, and is under the immediate

Digitized by Google

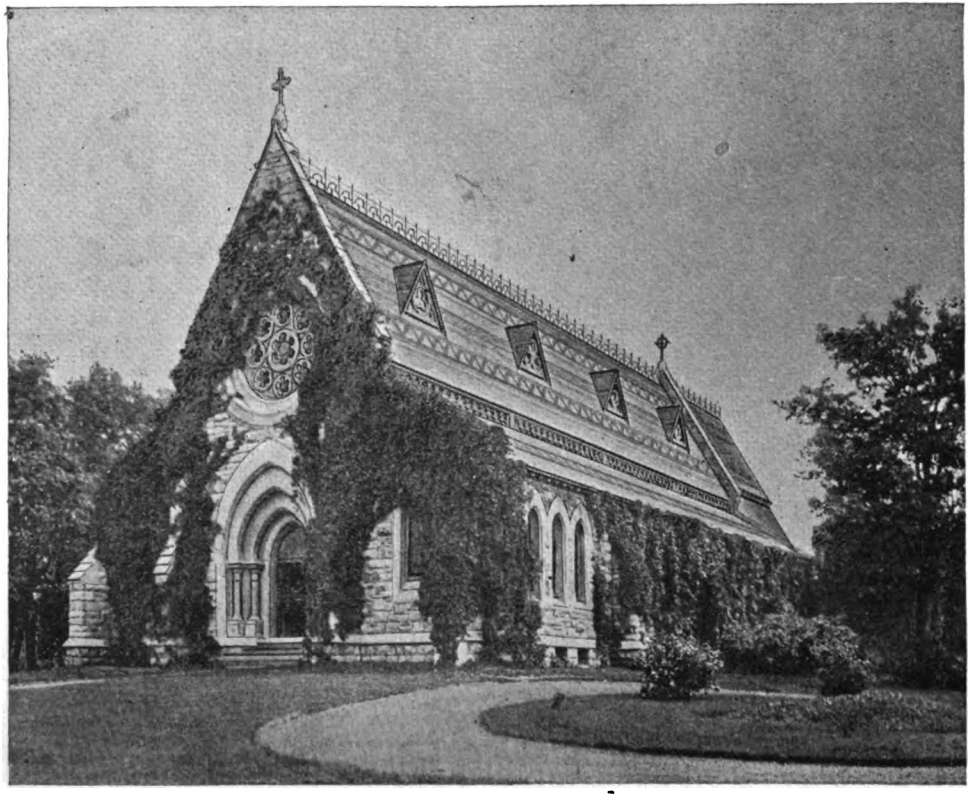
charge of Professor W. H. Barris, the able curator. Possibly, the most important contributions to archeological knowledge in recent years, have come from mound explorations made in the vicinity of Davenport by members of the Academy. From some of the rare and curious relics brought to light the belief in the great antiquity of man in America is strengthened. To the zeal and untiring efforts of Mrs. Mary L. D. Putnam, the Academy owes much of its prosperity—and to her belongs the distinction of being the first woman ever elected president of a scientific body.

In 1891, Hon. Hiram Price placed in the hands of the trustees a sufficient sum of money to establish permanently, furnish and maintain a free reading room, in connection with the library in the Cook building. Mr. Price, though at present a resident of Washington, D. C., spent all the active years of his business life in Davenport, and many of his interests as well as his sympathies are still centered in the city which he, as much as any other man helped to create. Mr. Price arrived in Davenport in 1844, when, as he says, "the noble red man lingered in the vicinity, painted his face, smoked his 'kinekenik,' drank what fire-water he could procure, wrapped himself in his blanket and strutted in fancied independence as the only true type of nature's nobleman." Mr. Price represented his district in Congress during the dark rebellion and reconstruction days, and again for two terms in the seventies. He held the office of director for the government of the Union Pacific railroad, and was appointed by President Garfield commissioner of Indian Affairs, serving through Arthur's administration in this office. He has recently collected his speeches and letters of a public nature, and published them in one large beautifully bound volume for distribution among friends.

Davenport is a city of churches, but for her early ecclesiastical edifices no pretentious claims for admiration can be made. They were of Grecian simplicity without Grecian beauty. But the old fashioned square-towered church of the early day is fast disappearing and costly modern structures with lofty spires, stained glass and artistic mural decorations are taking its place.

The Congregationalists only a few years since moved from a plain box-like church on one of the noisest business streets down town to a beautiful one on the bluff. On the site of the old Baptist Church, which was one of the finest of the early churches, a new Post-office building is being erected, and the congregation now

Digitized by Google



GRACE CATHEDRAL.

Digitized by Google

occupies one of the handsomest and best appointed houses of worship in the upper part of the city. An old familiar landmark, the Christian Chapel, down town, has now closed its doors, and its people rejoice in the possession of a new church away from the bustle of business traffic. The First Methodists deserted their old church on a noisy railroad street too early to adopt some of the modern ornamental features which have since entered into the designs of Davenport churches; but they still have the tallest spire, which has served as a wonder for many a year, and have, moreover, a very fine location.

The new church spirit is still working, and the Presbyterians though now well housed, are planning to build a new edifice that will not suffer by comparison with the best that have recently been erected. The Unitarians, because of their rapidly growing congregation, have been forced for lack of room to consider the subject of a new building, and initiatory steps looking in this direction have already been taken.

Grand architectural creations combine within themselves impressive lessons in harmony, strength, and beauty not expressed in any other branch of art. And so the beautiful cathedral, no matter what creed is taught within, is a public teacher that exerts a potential moral influence upon all who come and go. It may be claimed that Davenport has at least three church edifices of this noble order. It is considered by many that by far the most important and attractive of these structures, architecturally, is Grace Cathedral, the Episcopal Diocesan Church. It is Gothic in design, built of pure gray stone, the main body covered with one immense slate roof in which two shades of drab, relieved by a slight addition of bright color are effectively combined. The surroundings of this cathedral are admirably calculated to enhance its beauty. It is situated in a spacious grove of native oak trees, and the different views that are obtained from the many unobstructed points are full of delightful surprises.

When viewing the noble, partially vine-screened facade on Main street, the beholder is so impressed with its majestic grace that the conclusion liable to be reached is, that this is the point from which to see the cathedral, only to reverse the decision when the Brady street view is obtained. Twelve beautiful stained windows representing Apostles and Evangelists are inserted in the semi-circular chancel, besides a number of elaborate memorial windows in the body of the

Digitized by Google

church. The interior is not lavishly embellished, the grand effect being produced by the artistic and harmonious employment of color rather than by excessive ornamentation. It would be ungrateful to leave even so brief a sketch of Grace Cathedral without mentioning the architect and also the man who was in a sense the builder of the Cathedral. Edward T. Potter, son of Bishop Potter, of New York city, designed the building, and Bishop Lee, the first Episcopal bishop of Iowa, by personal solicitation secured from friends in the east the bulk of the funds that entered into its construction. John David Wolfe, and his daughter, Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, and David J. Ely, of New York, were large contributors to the building fund. The bishop's house, conspicuously located upon the Cathedral grounds, is a handsome residence that is in perfect keeping with its magnificent surroundings.

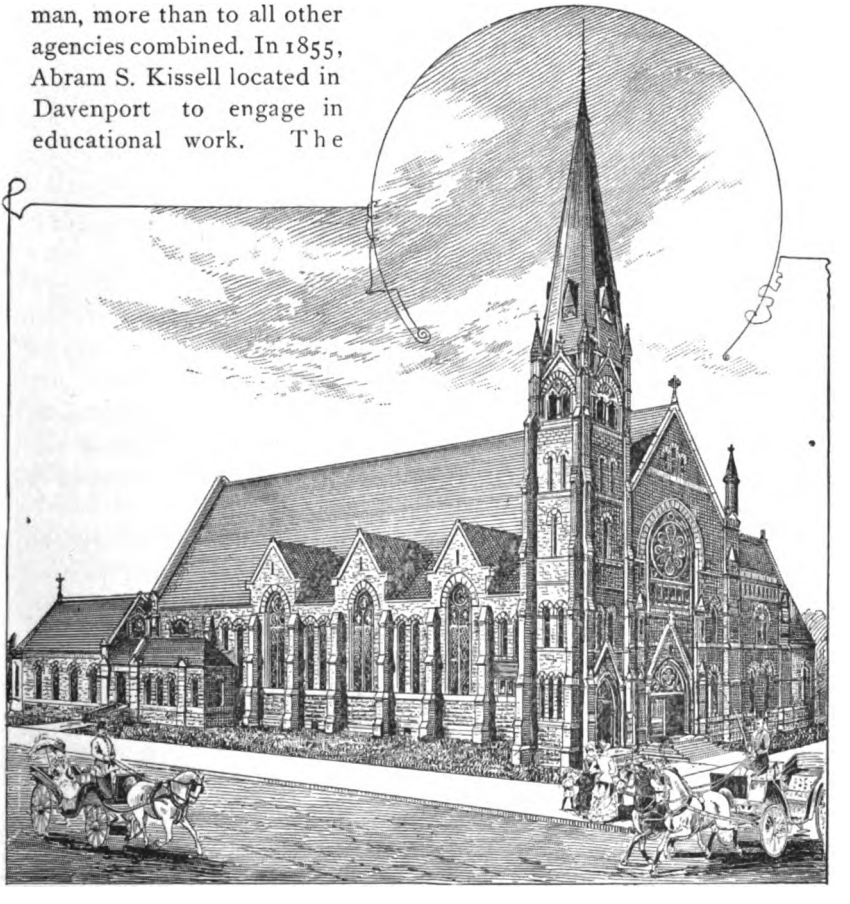
Possibly the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Catholic, the latest ecclesiastical edifice erected in the city, might successfully contest the honors for beauty with Grace Cathedral. It is larger, and more imposing. By reason of its elevated position, its massive walls of fine cut stone, charmingly pure in tone, its noble proportions, grand tower and spire surmounted by a gilded cross, this magnificent structure appeals to the eye and challenges unqualified admiration. But handsome as the Cathedral is externally, it is the interior that awakens the greater interest. It is finished entirely in choicely selected and beautifully polished oak; the rich soft tones of the wood blending harmoniously with the exquisite color scheme of walls and ceiling. The most pleasing feature—the one that catches the eye on entering, above the high altar in the chancel, is a magnificent stained glass window composed of five sections. There are many other windows of superior excellence, memorial offerings in the church, but this in design and coloring is a masterpiece. Elaborate figure pieces cast in plaster, beautifully finished and delicately tinted, representing scenes from biblical history, hang between the windows, placed there in memory of the departed by thoughtful friends. For its graceful beauty, Trinity Church before mentioned, is worthy to be classed with the grand cathedrals of Davenport.

Because of the superior excellence of her public and private schools, Iowa has been called the Massachusetts of the West, and Davenport for the same reason may claim the glory of being the capital. The schoolmaster and the preacher were among the earliest settlers, and the church and schoolhouse the first buildings. Dav-

Digitized by Google

enport, however, first in so many of the best things in the state does not claim the first schoolhouse; that honor, we believe, is clearly established as belonging to Dubuque, a neighboring city on the river. There are, however, rival claimants and the ambition to secure the honor has caused local historians, in some instances, to antedate the first settler of the locality by a flourishing school.

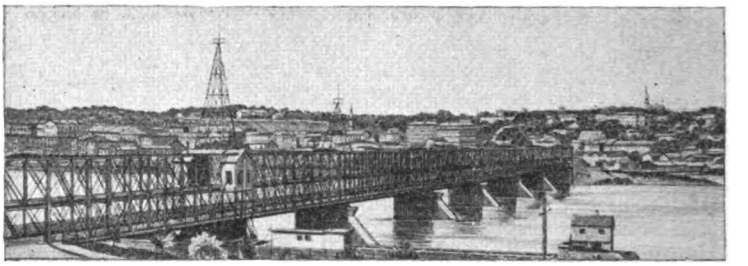
In any of the departments of the world's work where unusual success has been achieved, it is always found that some one master mind has created or controlled the forces that have contributed to it. Davenport, for the leading position in the state which her public schools for many years have held, is indebted to the efforts of one man, more than to all other agencies combined. In 1855, Abram S. Kissell located in Davenport to engage in educational work. The



CATHEDRAL OF THE SACRED HEART.

Digitized by Google

result of his decade of effort, in connection with the public schools, was to give them the distinctive and high character for which they have ever since been famed. Mr. Kissell was a born educator, and after receiving the appointment of city superintendent, began his educational work with the teachers. In this way his improved and progressive methods were carried through all the departments of the schools. He organized the first training school for teachers, and brought qualified teachers from Oswego, New York, to take charge of them. And from that day until the present time the training school has filled an important place in the public school system of Davenport. Hon J. B. Young, the present city superintendent, has been connected with the schools for more than a quarter of a century.



GOVERNMENT AND RAILROAD BRIDGE, 1873.

His predecessor in office was Miss P. W. Sudlow. The special honor belonging to Miss Sudlow's apppointment is that she was the first woman in the country to occupy the position of superintendent of city schools.

Recently a manual training and cooking school have been successfully incorporated into the system. To place the manual training department upon an assured footing, Mr. Nicholas Kuhnen, for many years an active member of the school board, bequeathed to the city the sum of $30,000 on condition that a like sum be raised among the citizens, for the purpose of erecting a suitable building for the work. The time has now arrived to fulfill the conditions or lose the bequest, but the cause is being espoused by the business men's association and it does not require the gift of prophecy to foretell the result.

The first college established in the state was Iowa College, and it began in Davenport in 1848. Ten years later the institution was

Digitized by Google

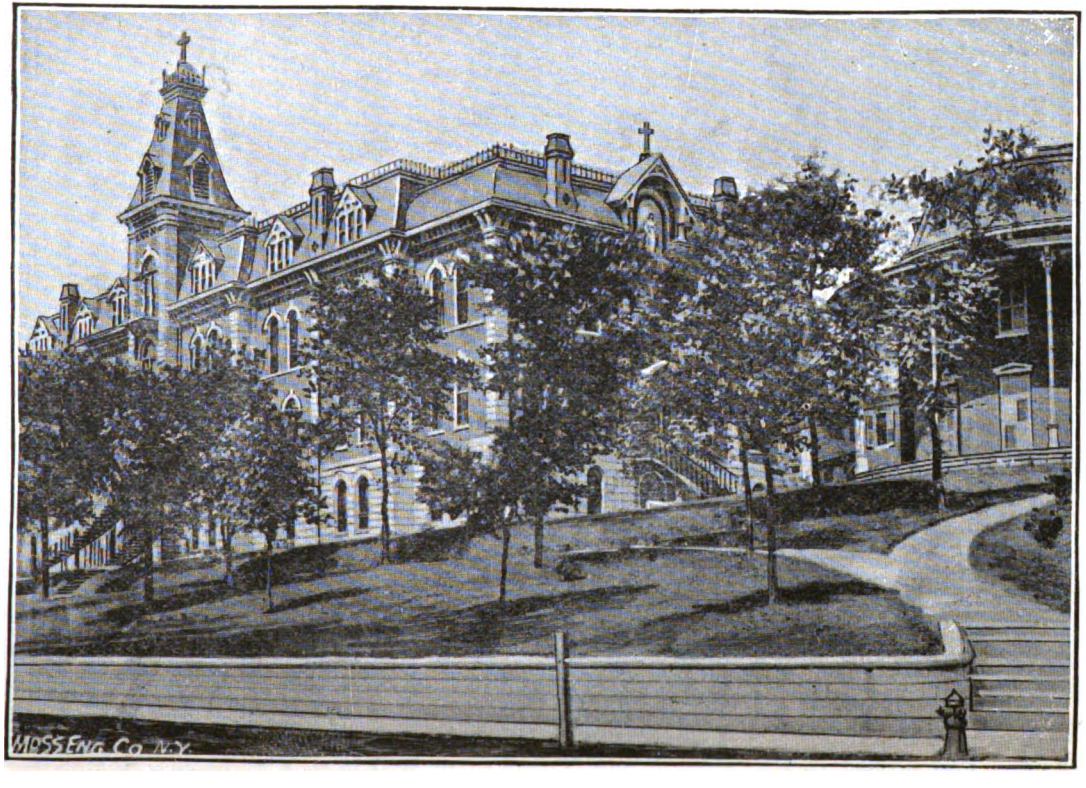
removed to Grinnell, Iowa, and what was at that time a magnificent building passed into other hands, and some years later became the home of Griswold College. The first medical school in the state began its existence in Davenport at an early day.

Davenport is the See city for both the Episcopal and Catholic churches, and is for that reason the centre of many of the educational institutions connected with them. Right Rev. William Stevens Perry is the Episcopal bishop of the Diocese of Iowa, and resides in Davenport, and the Right Rev. Henry Cosgrove is the Catholic bishop of Davenport, whose residence is also in the city.

The oldest private institution of learning in existence in the city to-day is the Academy of the Immaculate Conception, conducted by members of the religious order known as Sisters of Charity the first, and probably only community of Catholic sisters ever founded upon American soil. The order had its origin in the arrival in Philadelphia in 1833, of a heroic little band of young women (five in number) from Dublin, who in pursuance of a resolution taken to consecrate their lives to religious educational work, left home, kindred, and native country to come to the United States, the adopted home of a great multitude of Erin's exiled sons and daughters, to engage in their chosen labors. Money they had none, the little purse containing all the capital they possessed in the world was accidently lost in the ocean, and when they arrived, strangers in a strange but not unfriendly land, without experience or worldly wisdom, a high and noble purpose was their only endowment or recommendation. They were immediately sought out and befriended by Mrs. McDonough, wife of the hero of Lake Champlain, and by her introduced to one who became to them a benefactor and staunch friend.

After ten years of trials, misfortunes and disappointments in the city of Brotherly Love, a bright outlook began to dawn upon the work of these devoted women, when a lighted torch in the hands of a demoniac Know-Nothing mob kindled the flames that destroyed their beautiful convent home. Bishop Loras, the first bishop of Iowa, immediately invited Father Donahoe, the good shepherd, under whose protecting care the new order had been organized, to remove with his little community, then numbering nineteen members, to Iowa. The invitation was quickly accepted and the order, then bound together only by a few rules, was transplanted to Dubuque and reorganized under Bishop Loras. To-day an enrollment of nearly

Digitized by Google



ACADEMY OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.

Digitized by Google

one thousand members, flourishing schools in all the large cities of Iowa and neighboring states is the monument unostentatiously erected by their own efforts that commemorates the achievements of these noble women.

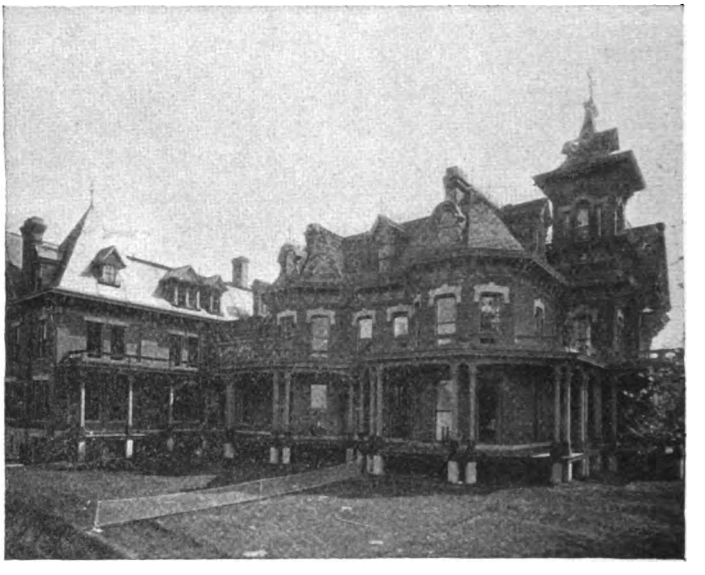
It is now thirty-five years since mother Clarke, one of the original five, who was the chosen head of the order and denominated as foundress, sent sister Mary Margaret, also one of the first members to Davenport to organize a school. The beginning as may be supposed was humble enough, but the enterprise was soon established in the confidence and affections of the people, and it was not long before it became one of the most celebrated seats of learning for young ladies in the state. Thousands of the most refined, best educated and accomplished women of all religious denominations have been instructed at the Sisters' Academy. The elegant group of buildings composing the institution, occupies one of the finest and most conspicuous corners in the residence part of the city. The grounds are ample and the extensive grassy slope in front of the buildings is one of the most beautiful external features of the locality. To the varied and rare talents, and executive genius of sister Mary Gonzaga, for many years the Sister Superior in this school, much of its prosperity and popularity is due.

The College in the grove is one of the most unique and attractive features of the suburbs of Davenport. St. Ambrose College, under the auspices of the Catholic Church was established by Bishop McMullen, the first bishop of Davenport in 1882, and began its existence in a parish school-house. It now occupies a handsomely designed and substantial building, situated on a ten acre lot covered with native forest trees, within the city limits. Under the fostering care of Bishop Cosgrove, the college has already attained first rank among similar institutions of the country.

St. Katherine's Hall, a boarding and day school for young ladies, is an institution of which Davenporters are very proud. A Protestant school that could afford all the advantages obtainable in the best seminaries of the East, had been a long felt want of the community and state, and it was recognized from its inception that St. Katherine's would supply this want. The success of the school was assured from the first day of its opening, when its ample accommodations were found to be too limited for all that flocked to its doors. But popular as the institution was in the beginning, its popularity has steadily grown with its ten years of existence. Here all the

Digitized by Google

refinements, even the elegancies of life are combined with the best school-room instruction. The buildings, magnificent in proportions



ST. KATHERINE'S HALL.

and architecturally beautiful, are delightfully located on one of the bluffs that overlook the Mississippi and a galaxy of cities, including the arsenal on Rock Island.

This noble institution was made possible by the generosity of Miss Sarah Burr, of New York City, who bequeathed a large sum of money to Bishop Perry, for the founding of a young ladies' seminary in his Diocese. But the almost unparalleled success that has attended the school, is not due to this legacy or to any money that has since flowed into its treasury, neither to its many other favoring circumstances, but is largely the result of the intelligent, comprehensive and judicious management of its principal, Miss Emma Adelia Rice. With a former experience as teacher and principal to aid her, she is enabled to judge of the qualifications and fitness of instructors, and no school in the land of its kind has a more efficient corps, in all its departments, than has St. Katherine's. Her intimate knowledge of girl-nature, enables her to gain the love and respect

Digitized by Google

of the pupils while enforcing the most wholesome discipline, and to her excellent judgment and rare executive ability, the school is indebted for its splendid financial footing.

Kemper Hall, is a flourishing preparatory school for boys, under the control of the trustees of the Episcopal Diocese. Besides the regular school work of the city, University Extension courses have been conducted for a number of years.

Great as the educational advantages of the city are, with respect to her organized institutions of learning, those furnished by the "poor man's university," the press of the city, are perhaps even greater. No truer or better evidence of the general intelligence of the people can be cited than is found in the number and character of the newspapers published in Davenport. There are six dailies, eight weeklies, one semi-weekly and two monthlies, besides a number of church publications. The leading journals are without exception ably edited and conducted, and of a high literary and moral standard.

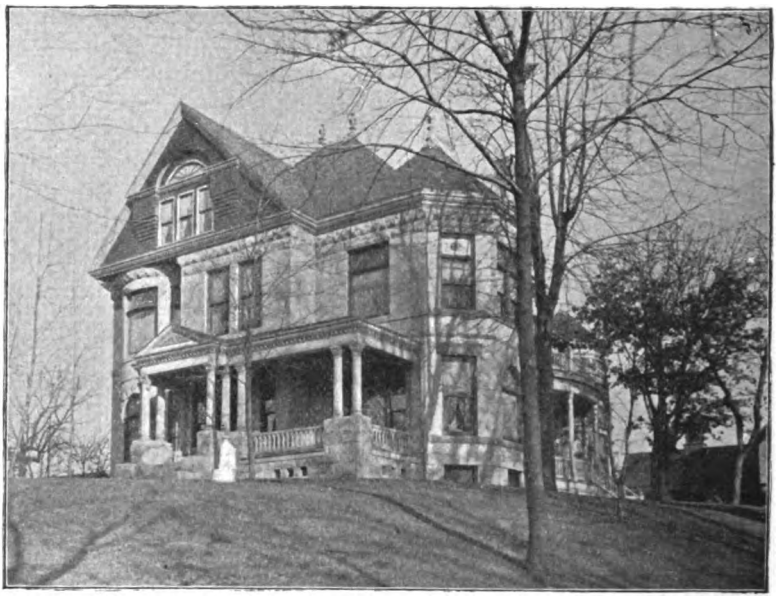
In the field of literature too, Davenport can claim exceptional honor not only for the quality of the works produced by her authors, but the wide range of subjects which they embrace. In an early day she had her own laureate who sang of "Davenport, Queen of the Beautiful Land," and kindred themes in beautiful verse. These poems under titles "The Heart Lace" and "The Harp of the West," were published in Davenport in 1856-8, by the author Rev. Hiram Reid.

The distinguished and rarely gifted poet and preacher, Rev. Horatio Nelson Powers, wrote and published much of the poetry and prose which entitles him to enduring fame during his long residence in Davenport, as rector of St. Luke's Parish.

Frank B. Wilkie, began his literary career in the city. "Davenport Past and Present," published in 1858, contained the prophecy of the brilliant achievements of his versatile pen in later years. Judge John F. Dillon, besides a "Digest of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Iowa," and various other contributions to law literature, wrote his famous work, "Municipal Corporations," while living in Davenport. The latter is conceded to be the greatest work on the subject ever written, and has passed through many editions. As contributors to the scientific literature of the world, Dr. Charles C. Parry and J. Duncan Putnam, are distinguished. Right Rev. William Stevens Perry is Davenport's most voluminous writer. As

Digitized by Google

historiographer of the American Church, he has produced upwards of seventy volumes, besides a number on miscellaneous topics that are of permanent value. One of the most widely read, instructive and entertaining books of travel published in the last decade, is from the pen of Hon. D. N. Richardson—a long time Davenport editor. "A Girdle Around the Earth" is full of graphic descriptions of old world life and scenes. The pictures from first to last, glowing with



RESIDENCE OF JAMES THOMSON.

color, invested with light and life by bold, strong unconventional touches, captivate the reader, and lift the book far above the plane of the common place. A Davenporter from early childhood, Alice French (Octave Thanet) enjoys a well earned and richly deserved popularity as a writer of short stories. B. F. Tillinghast, as historian of the "Three Cities," has shown a very clear perception of the demands of this line of literary work. Mr. Tillinghast is managing editor of the Morning and Evening "Davenport Democrat," and a frequent contributor to magazine literature. A. J. Hirschl has recently contributed two volumes "Law of Fraternities and Societies,"

Digitized by Google

and "Legal Hygiene," to law literature. "Fifty Years in Iowa," is a chronicle of some of the stirring events and hardships of pioneer life in Davenport, by J. M. D. Burrows. Though still young, Blanche Fearing occupies a proud position in the field of poetical literature. Her productions, published in two volumes, "The Sleeping World," and "In The City by the Lake," have called forth unstinted praise from the most eminent writers and critics of the land. Bereft of sight by an accident in early childhood, the certain gift of song which she possessed was cultivated, and has since been a constant solace. "Quiet Music," and "Where Brooks go Softly," are the appropriate titles chosen by Charles Eugene Banks, for two published volumes of verse, as melodious and genuinely poetic as any produced by our more noted writers in recent years.

In addition to nature's prodigal bounty of beautiful scenery lying all about, Davenport has several beautiful public parks A park system under the direct control of a board of commissioners is one of the accomplished facts of the municipal government. Besides the present parks, an extensive river view park east of the city is contemplated in the plan, and negotiations are now pending for the purchase of a tract of land admirably suited for the purpose. A bluff park commanding one of the most magnificent up-river views in the western part of the city, will also be included in the system.

Outing Club Park is an ideal private park owned by a corporation and used as recreation grounds and for social gatherings of its members. Schutzen Park, with its many beautiful acres, is owned by a private corporation, but is always open to the public. A small red brick building, rather handsome and chapel-like in appearance, standing alone upon elevated ground beyond the city boundaries, is Davenport's Crematorium erected by the Cremation Society some six years since.

Many of the public buildings of the city that have been built in recent years, are magnificent structures. The Court House, Masonic Temple and Turner Hall are among the grandest. Davenport's in-door amusement lovers have the choice of two elegant opera houses in which during the season may be heard the world's celebrities in drama and song.

The first company of Union soldiers that marched out of the State to the late war was recruited in Davenport. And in commemoration of those of this company and the many others that after-

Digitized by Google

wards followed never to return, a noble monument has been erected. It occupies a circular inclosure in a beautiful neighborhood on the bluff opposite Grace Cathedral grounds.

RESIDENCE OF S. F. SMITH.

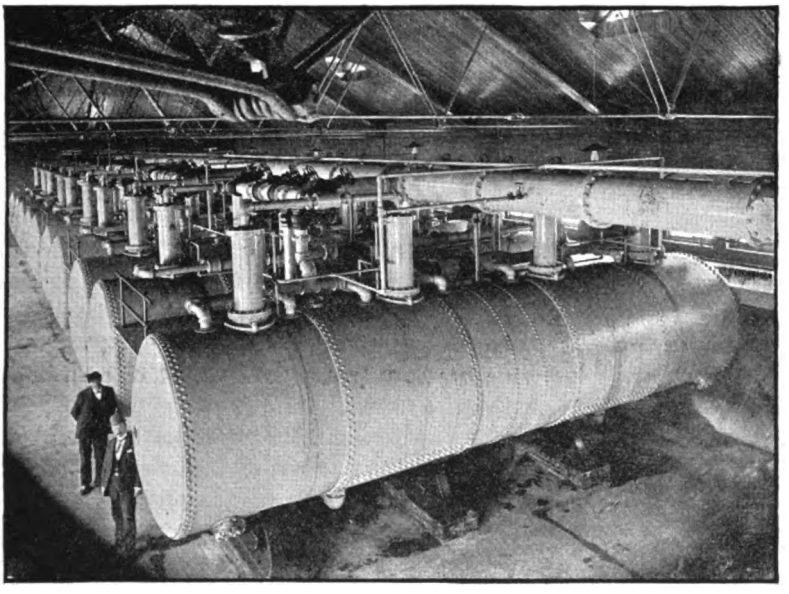
Cook and Sargent opened the first bank in Davenport in 1847. The second was organized in 1852, by Austin Corbin, now of New York city, and Louis Macklot. The first National bank in the United States opened for business under the national banking system, was organized in Davenport in 1863, with Mr. Corbin as president. The papers were the first filed in Washington, but owing to some trifling technical informality they were returned for correction, and this caused delay in issuing the charter, so that the First National Bank of Davenport for this reason does not stand at the head of the list, as it would otherwise have done.

Among the many institutions which are the special pride and glory of the city, at the present time, her banks take first rank. It is well worthy of mention in this connection that in the recent general crisis which has convulsed the financial world and forced so many banks in all parts of the country either to surrender, or has put their strength to the severest test, the supreme confidence of the citizens of Davenport in their own institutions has never wavered, and except for the general stagnation of business they have not been

Digitized by Google

materially affected. The four savings banks of the city have a cash capital of $1,110,000; deposits to the amount of $8.525.364; depositors to number of 17,309. The rate of interest paid to depositors is five per cent. The savings in these banks have more than doubled in six years, and represent nearly one-half of the money deposited in savings in the entire state of Iowa.

Though the prosperity of the city is not wholly dependent upon these interests, Davenport's manufacturing industries are many, varied, extensive and profitable. The glucose factory is the largest and most important of its kind in the west. With vast coal fields at



FILTER PLANT.

hand and a great water-power the superior facilities and advantages of the locality for the development of the largest manufacturing enterprises will be, undoubtedly, sooner or later utilized. The expense for transportation has been heretofore a drawback to such industries, but this will be overcome when the Hennepin Canal, now in process of construction by the National government, is completed. The canal, 65 miles in length, will supply the connecting link in the water route which will unite the Mississippi at Davenport with Lake Michigan, thus affording a continuous waterway to the seaboard.

Digitized by Google

The principal streets of Davenport are paved with brick. The first electric street railway in the west and the fourth in the country, was operated in Davenport, in August, 1888. It is claimed that 41 miles of inter-state electric lines covering the territory of Davenport, Rock Island and Moline are now being operated. For a most excellent system of water-works, in which about $1.200,000 have been expended, the city owes no small debt of gratitude to Hon. Michael Donahue, the originator, and his brother Colonel Peter Donahue, of San Francisco, Cal., who became associated with him in carrying out the enterprise. In connection with the works there is a filter plant, recently added, for which the modest claim is made that it is the "largest and most expensive mechanical filter plant on the face of the globe."

Much as can be said in praise of Davenport in other respects, possibly the homes of the city deserve the highest commendation. It is most emphatically a city of homes. There is no fashionable street —no aristocratic "west end" for the princely palaces and spacious grounds of the wealthy are scattered all about the city; they are located on every hillside and crown every hill top, and the tasteful homes of the well to-do often quite as attractive, and even those of the laboring man. comfortable and often even beautiful, occupy the same neighborhoods.

The youthful city of Davenport was seriously affected by the financial convulsion that spread over the whole country in 1857, but the lessons born of the afflictions of that hour impressed themselves, and when she emerged from the gloom and gathered her shattered forces, a spirit of conservatism prevailed that has influenced the policy of the government from that day to this. Davenport has never since had a boom, and the almost unparalleled prosperity which she enjoys at the present time is based upon actual and not superficial foundations. The makers of Davenport were men of solid attainments and worth, they loved the city of their creation with no ordinary affection, and the men who are contributing to its development and welfare to-day are their worthy successors.

In the early days, New England, New York and Ohio were largely represented in the population of Davenport—to-day there are to be found within its limits representatives from nearly all the civilized countries of the world.

M. PECK.

Digitized by Google

THE BISHOP OF IOWA.

RIGHT REV. WILLIAM STEVENS PERRY.

William Stevens Perry, the oldest and only surviving son of the late Stephen, and Katharine Whittemore (Stevens) Perry, was born in Providence, R. I., January 22, 1832. He is descended on his father's side from John Perry, who arrived in New England in 1636, in the ship in which the "Apostle" Eliot came over, and is styled "cousin" in a letter from the great Puritan missionary to the Indians. On the maternal side he is descended from William Stevens, of Falmouth, Maine, a privateer's man on the frigate "Boston," during the Revolution, and his son of the same name, a lieutenant in the United States army during the war of 1812.

Educated in the private and public shools of the city of his birth, he passed from the Providence High School, then under the charge of Prof. Albert Harkness, LL. D., to enter Brown University whence he migrated to Harvard College, in 1851, connecting himself as Sophomore with the class of 1854. He was graduated with his class, having an appointment at the Commencement, although he was absent from college during the Junior year, in consequence of ill health. After graduation, he spent several months at the Virginia Theological Seminary, near Alexandria, and then his family having removed at the time of his entering Harvard to their place at Watertown, Mass., returned home to take charge, as a candidate for orders and a lay reader, of an effort to found an Episcopal church in the adjoining town of Newton. The parish of Grace Church, Newton, was organized in his father's house, at the corner of Galen and Williams street, in Watertown, and Mr. Perry was the vestry clerk, Sunday-school superintendent and lay-reader of the earliest years of this now prosperous and wealthy parish. In the meantime he prosecuted his theological studies under the direction of the Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D., of St. Paul's, Boston, and the Rev. John S. Stone, D.D., of Brookline, Mass. He was ordered deacon in the temporary place of worship occupied by the congregation of Grace Church, Newton, by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn, Bishop of Massachusetts. He was advanced to the priesthood by the same prelate in St. Paul's, Boston, April 7, 1858, his uncle, the Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., of St. Andrew's Church, Phila-

Digitized by Google

delphia, being the preacher. He was assistant to the rector of St. Paul's, Dr. A. H. Vinton, 1857–8; rector of St. Luke's, Nashua, N. H., 1858–61; rector of St. Stephen's, Portland, Maine, 1861–3; rector of St. Michael's, Litchfield, Conn., 1864–9, and of Trinity, Geneva, Western New York, 1869–76. Early in 1876, after having declined the foreign secretaryship of the Board of Missions, he was tendered the presidency of Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio, which he refused. Shortly after, he was unanimously elected to the presidency of Hobart College, Geneva, N. Y., which he accepted. He had previously served as professor of history in the same institution (without salary) 1871–74. He remained at Hobart, retaining also his rectorship of Trinity Church, until his consecration to the episcopate.

From the very beginning of his ministry he was busily engaged in general church work in addition to his parochial labors. He was a deputy from the diocese of New Hampshire to the General Convention of 1859, at Richmond, Va., the first held subsequent to his ordination, and as a deputy, an officer, or as a bishop, he has been present at every triennial convention held since that time. He was a deputy from Maine in 1862, and from the diocese of Western New York, in 1871. He was appointed an assistant-secretary to the House of Deputies, in 1862, and was the secretary of the Convention from 1865 to 1876. As assistant-secretary, charged with the calling of the roll at the General Convention of 1862, he gave to the world a striking proof of the unity of the American Church by calling, entirely of his own motion and without any instructions to this effect, on each vote of the house by dioceses, the unrepresented southern dioceses just as if their accredited delegations were present in their seats. He was associated by the Convention of 1859 with the celebrated Rev. Dr. Francis Lister Hawks, in the preparation and publication of an annotated edition of the early records of the General Convention legislation. One volume in octavo, under the joint editorship of Dr. Hawks and Mr. Perry, appeared in 1861; but the further prosecution of this was interrupted by the breaking out of the civil war. The work was finally issued under the sole editorship of Dr. William Stevens Perry, in three volumes, in 1874, two volumes composing the reprinted journal, 1785–1835, and one volume being devoted to illustrative notes and documents. In 1868, on the death of Dr. Hawks, Dr. Perry was appointed by the two Houses of Convention "Historiographer" of the American church. This most complimentary and important official position he still retains.

Digitized by Google

In 1862, on January 15, he was married in Rosse Chapel, Gambier, Ohio, by Bishop Bedell, to Sara Abbott Woods, youngest daughter of the Rev. Thomas Mather Smith, D.D., sometime President of Kenyon College, and for eighteen years Professor of Systematic Divinity in the theological seminary of the diocese of Ohio—and Mary Greenleaf (Woods), his wife. On the paternal side, Mrs. Perry is descended from the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, of Sharon, Conn, the father of the Hon. John Cotton Smith, LL.D., Governor of Conn., and through him, according to Governor Smith's family memoranda, from Increase Mather, D.D., President of Harvard College, and John Cotton, the Puritan vicar of St. Botolph's, Boston, England, and first minister of Boston, New England. Her maternal grandfather was the celebrated Leonard Woods, D.D., theological professor at Andoyer Theological Seminary.

Mr. Perry received his "A. M." in course from Harvard, in 1857, and an *ad eundem* "M. A.," from the University of Bishops' College, Lenoxville, Canada East, in 1859, on occasion of his preaching the "convocation" sermon. In 1869 he received the degree of "D.D.," from Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. He was made "LL.D." by William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., in 1876, on his accession to the presidency of Hobart College. He received the degree of "D. C. L.," from the University of Bishop's College, in 1885; again from the University of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1886; and still again from the University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., in 1893. At the Eucenia of the University of Oxford, England, June, 1888, he received the honorary degree of "D.D., *Oxon.*," an honor which he shares with two other living American divines alone—the Rt. Rev. William Crosswell Doane, D.D., LL. D., Bishop of Albany, and the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York. In 1887, in the eleventh year of his episcopate, he was unanimously elected by the Synod, "Lord Bishop of Nova Scotia"—the oldest British colonial see; but he declined this honor, one never before tendered to any other than one of English birth and allegiance.

Bishop Perry is by virtue of the Revolutionary services of his great-grandfather, Lieutenant Abel Perry, of the Massachusetts Continental Line, an hereditary member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and has been for a number of years a chaplain-general of the order. As such he preached the sermon before the Society in St. Paul's Chapel, New York City, on occasion of the centennial observance

Digitized by Google

of the inauguration of George Washington, as President of the United States, April 28, 1889. This discourse, printed in various editions, appears in the sumptuous official record of the observance of this day which is said to be the handsomest volume ever printed in the United States. He is also president of the Iowa State Society of the Sons of the Revolution, and a member of the New York Society of that body. He is a member of the Society of the War of 1812, and of the Naval order of the United States.

He was unanimously elected Bishop of Iowa, in May, 1876, receiving the unanimous confirmatiou of the standing committees and the bishops of the church; and was consecrated to the episcopate in Trinity Church, Geneva, New York, September 10th, of the same year, by his maternal uncle, the Rt. Rev. William Bacon Stevens, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Pennsylvania, assisted by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Cleveland Coxe, Bishop of Western New York; the Rt. Rev. Dr. Kerfoot, Bishop of Pittsburgh; the Rt. Rev. Dr. Bissell, Bishop of Vermont, and the Most Rev. Dr. Oxenden, Lord Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada. During his episcopate he has seen the numbers of his clergy, his churches, and his congregations increase nearly or quite three-fold. He has consecrated fifty churches. He has held over one hundred ordinations. He has founded two large church schools at Davenport, Ia. One of these is Saint Katharine's Hall, for girls, named for his beloved mother, and now in its tenth year (1894) of successful life. The other is Kemper Hall, for boys, a boarding school with accommodations for sixty pupils which is nine years old. He has at present in view the establishment of a church hospital in his See city, having just purchased for this purpose a most desirable piece of property, occupying a commanding site. The church "realty" at Davenport, comprising the college building, the theological hall, the professors' houses, Kemper Hall, St. Katharine's, the Bishop's house, the cathedral and two other churches, with their guild-halls and rectories, represent an expenditure and present value of over half a million of dollars; and for architectural beauty and charm of situation are not excelled in any diocese in the land.

The present Bishop of Iowa has attended and taken part in the Lambell Conferences of 1878 and 1888; and his printed account of the first of these meetings elicited the special commendation of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Archibald Campbell Tait, as the best record of the Conference that had appeared in print. His story

Digitized by Google

of the Conferences of 1888 has also been privately printed. He was also an interested member of the "Alt Katholik" Conferences held at Bonn, in 1875, at which gathering he made the acquaintance of the celebrated Dr. Ignatius von Döllinger, whom he afterwards visited in Munich. It was at this meeting that he made the acquaintance of Canon Lindon, Prebendary Meyrick, Lord Plunkett, now Archbishop of Dublin, and a number of the dignitaries of the Holy Eastern Church. He has crossed the ocean ten times and is well known both in Great Britain, on this continent and in the Colonial possessions of England.

Bishop Perry is probably the most voluminous writer of the American Episcopal bench. A list of his various publications, as contained in the Bibliography of the American Historical Association, published in 1889, '90, '91 and '92, occupies a dozen closely printed octavo pages, and including a score of volumes in quarto, octavo and duodecimo, comprises fully one hundred and twenty-four separate titles. His writings are chiefly historical, although he has published sermons preached in Westminister Abbey, St. Paul's, London, and other cathedrals and churches abroad, and besides these, sketches of travel and contributions to general literature. His private library contains over fifteen thousand volumes, as many valuable unbound, monographs and pamphlets, and over one hundred volumes of unpublished MSS.

Bishop Perry received the thanks of the authorities of the state of Virginia for his publication of a quarto volume of *Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Virginia;* for his five quarto volumes privately printed, of *Historical Collections of the American Colonial Church*, and his three annotated volumes in octavo of *A Half-Century of the Legislation of the American Episcopal Church*, he received the thanks of the General Convention of the Church. He is a member of a large number of the state historical societies, of the Ethnological Society, of the Numismatic Society and of the American Historical Association. He was one of the three bishops on the Commission appointed to prepare and report *The Standard Prayer Book of* 1892; and will possess one of the twelve vellum folio copies of this work from the De Vinne Press, presented to the Presiding Bishop, the President of the House of Deputies, the archives of the Church and the members of the committee, by Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, a lay member of this important committee.

Digitized by Google

NEWARK, N. J., INCORPORATED.—III.

ITS FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

For one hundred and thirty-eight years, Newark, N. J., had been slowly, but steadily growing, from a small settlement composed of a few immigrants from New England, to a town of nearly eight thousand inhabitants. Compared with the rapid rise of modern cities it was a very slow growth, indeed; but during the same period, all the surrounding wilderness had been made to "blossom as the rose." The forests on every side for a hundred miles around had given way to flourishing towns and cultivated fields; and New York, with its population of seventy thousand, was looking to New Jersey for its breadstuffs and its clothing. It was no longer a struggle on the part of Jerseymen for wherewith to feed and clothe themselves, but, rather, for whereby to get to market the products of their farms and factories, as well as wherein to keep safely their money and whereat to transact their monetary business. There was not, up to this time, 1803, a bank in the state of New Jersey, and Newark was not only the great market town for the farmers of Hunterdon, Morris, Sussex and Warren counties, but its manufacturing industries were rapidly increasing. The necessity of a bank of deposit was urgent, and accordingly, at a session of the Legislature of 1803–4, a charter was granted under which the Newark Banking and Insurance Company was organized. The name was changed, upon the third extension of its charter, to the Newark Banking Company, and, again, in 1865, having become a national bank, it took the name of the National Newark Banking Company.

The first meeting of the stockholders of this bank was held May 4, 1804, and on this occasion the first board of directors was elected, as follows: Elisha Boudinot, Archibald Mercer, J. N. Cumming, William S. Pennington, David D. Crane, Silas Condit, John Crawford, Aaron Coe, George Nelson, Moses Hedden and Stephen Hayes. On the 15th of the same month the board of directors met, and elected, as president, Elisha Boudinot, and as cashier, William Whitehead. The business of the bank was at first conducted in the parlor of a private residence on Broad street, and on the opening day deposits to

Digitized by Google

the amount of $4,000 were received. No suitable provision having yet been made for the safe keeping of money and valuable papers, they were, from time to time, placed in the vaults of the Manhattan Company's Bank in New York. In 1805, property was purchased by the institution on the north-west corner of Broad and Bank streets, then called Maiden Lane, and a building adapted to its purposes erected. Upon this site the bank is still located, though in a much more substantial and elegant edifice, erected in 1856. The original capital of the bank was first increased in 1828; again in 1833; and still again in 1836. Its present capital is $500,000, with a surplus and undivided profits, January 1, 1894, of about $400,000.

The patriotic part taken by the bank at the commencement, and throughout the late Rebellion, was creditable not only to the officers and board of directors, but to its numerous stockholders. The first issue of United States bonds for the maintenance of the war was offered at a crisis when it could no longer be prosecuted without more permanent relief than could be had from treasury notes, which had been used. The question was anxiously discussed in every thoughtful mind: Would the bonds be taken? and by whom? Would the banks dare to take them? If the banks declined, would any one, after such declination, be willing to take them? It was evident that without money, the war could not be carried on, and the Union must be dissolved. It was a fearful crisis. In the emergency, however, a few leading bank officers in New York city stepped forward and, without waiting even for the sanction of their boards of direction subscribed for the first $50,000,000. Those officers knew that there were among their stockholders many not in sympathy with the war, and many others unready to make any sacrifice for their country; but, with a heroism that has been hardly appreciated, those officers took a stand which turned the scale in favor of the government, and really saved the country. After the banks had thus shown their confidence in the Union, the public took the bonds with enthusiasm and the government was secure in its credit and ability to provide for the war. The Newark Banking company, took as its share, $50,000 of that first issue of United States bonds. This was, however, but a small item of the financial aid afforded by this bank in those trying times. In 1861, the bank purchased of the government treasury notes to the amount of $205,000; and, in 1863 and 1864, purchased United States indebtedness certificates amounting to $558,000. To the State it loaned, in 1861, $150,000 for the purpose

Digitized by Google

of equipping troops, etc.; also to the city of Newark and to the county of Essex it advanced large sums of money to pay bounties, etc.

The presidents of this bank have been as follows: Elisha Boudinot, elected 1804; John N. Cumming, 1815; Silas Condit, 1820; John Taylor, 1842; James B. Pinneo, September 14, 1854, and the present incumbent, Charles G. Rockwood, January 13, 1887. The cashiers have been William Whitehead, elected 1804; Aaron Beach, 1810 (died in office); William M. Vermilye, 1841; Jacob D. Vermilye, 1843; Charles G. Rockwood, 1858; Philip D. Crater, 1887 (died in office); Henry W. Tunis, January 1, 1894. On January 2, 1894, Edward S. Campbell was elected vice-president of the bank. He had been for several years cashier of the National Bank of New Jersey, at New Brunswick.

Elisha Boudinot, the first president of the bank was a native of Philadelphia, in which city he was born in 1742. In early life he became a resident of Newark, N. J., where he acquired a high reputation as a lawyer, and was greatly esteemed for his many excellent qualities. In 1798, he was appointed one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, an office which he held for seven years. He died in Newark, October 12, 1819.

James Beza Pinneo, who, during a period of nearly thirty-three years, was president of this bank, began his business career as a clerk in a mercantile house in New York city. Having served in this capacity six years, he became a partner in the establishment. Being a great student, and fond of books, he formed quite naturally the acquaintance of Mr. William B. Kinney, who was at that time librarian of the New York Mercantile Library, and subsequently well known as a polished writer and a distinguished diplomatist. With him, Mr. Pinneo removed to Newark, N. J., where they together established in 1833, the Newark Daily Advertiser, now one of the most widely known newspapers of the land. In 1839 he became a partner in the great manufacturing firm of William Rankin & Company, from which he retired in 1852, with an ample fortune. In 1854, he succeeded Mr. John Taylor as president of the Newark Banking Company, and remained in that position until his death in 1887.

Digitized by Google

PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

Engd by Williams New York

Chas. G. Rockwood

The New York History Co

Digitized by Google

CHARLES GREENE ROCKWOOD.

As early as 1636, the name of Rockwood appears among those of the first settlers of New England. In the public records the name was sometimes spelled Rockets, but in no will, deed, petition or certificate, ancient or modern, signed by any member of the family, was the name ever spelled otherwise than Rockwood. Dorchester, Braintree, Medfield, Weymouth and Mendon were the localities in which this growing and prosperous family fixed their early habitation, and the town records of these places show that they were among the most prominent, enterprising and best educated of their citizens. The father and grandfather of the subject of this sketch were both graduated from Harvard University. The grandfather, Ebenezer Rockwood, studied medicine, and at the commencement of the Revolutionary war entered the Continental army as a surgeon. Subsequently he settled at Wilton, N. H., where he became, not only eminent in his profession, but highly influential in all affairs, civil and religious. At the ripe age of eighty-four years, he died amidst the grief of friends and the regrets of the community. His second son, also named Ebenezer, was the father of Mr. Charles G. Rockwood, of whom we here write. He was graduated, as has been already said, from Harvard University, studied law in Boston, and subsequently entered upon the practice of his profession in that city, giving evidence of mental abilities and of a thorough knowledge of the law, as well as of great gifts as an orator, which could have won for him a high position at the bar. But death suddenly put an end to a career that was just beginning to be prosperous, and full of promise. He died at the early age of thirty-four years. The maiden name of the widow thus left with four children, was Elizabeth Breese Hazard, a daughter of Ebenezer Hazard, who was postmaster-general of the United States under President Washington, from 1782 to 1789—a man of rare mental powers, highly cultured, thoroughly versed in the ancient languages, a writer of several voluminous historical works, a contributor of valuable historical papers to various learned societies and, withal, a sagacious business man and financier, whose monument as such is "The Insurance Company of North America in Philadelphia," of which he was an original director, the

Digitized by Google

first secretary, and the untiring business manager. On the maternal side, he was the grandfather of the subject of this sketch.

Charles Greene Rockwood, who succeeded Mr. James B. Pinneo as president of the National Newark Banking Company, was born in Boston, July 19, 1814. While yet an infant, his father died, and the bereaved mother, with her children, removed from Boston to the home of her father in Philadelphia. Mrs. Rockwood was married some years after to Rev. Thomas E. Vermilye, D. D., LL. D., at that time a promising young clergyman. and subsequently an eminent divine and distinguished pastor in the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, of New York city. It was to the fatherly care of this excellent man, as well as to the instructions of a highly cultured mother, that Mr. Rockwood was indebted for his early training. At a suitable age he was placed at school, but, after completing the course of studies afforded at the then well known academy of E. W. Morse, in New York city, he was allowed to gratify his inclination for a business life, and, accordingly, at the age of fifteen years entered, as a clerk, an extensive mercantile house in the same city, where he remained until he reached his majority. Having made himself familiar with the business of banking, he was in 1846, invited to assume the cashiership of "The Orange Bank," in the city of Orange, N. J. The capital of this institution was at that time so much impaired that no dividends could be paid to its stockholders. In this connection he remained until the bank had been restored to a healthy condition, and the payment of dividends resumed, when, in 1849, he received the appointment of cashier of "The Stamford Bank," in Stamford, Conn. In 1852, he left this position to establish the private banking house of Rockwood, Hazards & Co., in Mauch Chunk, Pa., he and his cousin, Fisher Hazard, being the active partners. In 1857, a chartered bank having been organized in Mauch Chunk, he became the first cashier of the Bank of Norwalk, Conn., a newly established institution. Here, however, he remained only long enough to see that a prosperous career seemed to be insured to the new enterprise. A field of greater labor and reponsibility was awaiting him in Newark, N. J. The Newark Banking Company, the oldest chartered institution of the kind in the state, and of which we have already spoken, had called him as a successor to its cashier, Mr. Jacob D. Vermilye, who was called to the cashiership, and subsequently to the presidency of the Merchants National Bank, of New York city. It was in February, 1858, that Mr. Rockwood entered

Digitized by Google

upon his new office, and during the long period of thirty-six years he has remained in connection with this bank. As its cashier he served twenty-nine years, becoming its president in January, 1887. From that time to the present, he has been daily at his desk engaged in the discharge of his onerous duties, notwithstanding his fourscore years.

There is much in the life and character of Mr. Rockwood that would afford the most valuable lessons to young men, not a few of whom, through his advice and assistance, have risen to positions of honor and profit, while there are many, doubtless, upon whose hearts are written grateful memories of him, which can never be effaced. Though silence is enjoined in regard to many details, some pleasing traits in the character of Mr. Rockwood may be gathered from the facts, that while comparatively a young man he was largely instrumental in causing the erection of a new edifice for the Presbyterian Church in Mauch Chunk, Pa., making his banking room a place of meeting for that purpose; and that now, in his eightieth year he is an active director in the Young Men's Christian Association, of Newark, N. J. To Christian and philanthropic work he has always given largely of his time. In the Essex County Bible Society he has been and still is a valuable member, and was a few years since its president. In educational matters he has also been very serviceable, having filled for more than thirty years the office of trustee of the Newark Academy, one of the oldest institutions of the state, and having acted during most of that period as secretary and treasurer of its board of trustees—offices which he still retains. Of the Howard Savings Institution he has been a director, almost from its organization to the present day. Although not a follower in the footsteps of his distinguished grandfather as a writer of books, Mr. Rockwood possesses much literary ability, as has been proved by the various published articles from his pen. Mr. Rockwood's religious life has been identified with the Presbyterian Church. During all his residence in Newark, N. J., he has been connected with the High Street Church, of which he has long been an elder.

In 1840, he was married to Sarah, daughter of George B. and Joanna Smith, of New York city. Of the four children of this marriage, only one is living, Professor Charles G. Rockwood, Jr., of Princeton College.

Digitized by Google

THE BAR OF NEWARK.

CORTLANDT PARKER.

The earliest American ancestor of the subject of this sketch was Elisha Parker, one of the colony from Massachusetts, who settled Woodbridge, Middlesex County, New Jersey, and who as early as 1675, was the proprietor of a considerable tract of land in its vicinity. The records of that day say little more of him than to chronicle the fact that his wife was a sister of Governor Hinckley, of Massachusetts, and to give the names of his children. His second son was also named Elisha. He was apparently more of a public man. In 1694 he was appointed high sheriff of Middlesex, and subsequently represented it in the Provincial Assembly. In 1712 he was made a member of Governor Hunter's council, and first took his seat in that body January 7, 1713. He was selected by the Governor as one of three individuals commissioned as custodians of the Provincial seal, such office inaugurating the Court of Chancery of New Jersey. His son, John Parker, was also a member of the Governor's council, first taking his seat under Governor Hunter, April 9, 1718, and holding it throughout the administrations of Governors Burnet and Montgomerie, and during the early part of that of Governor Cosby, when, in 1732, he died. He had several children, one of whom was James Parker, born in 1725. Like his father and grandfather, he also, took a prominent part in the government of the province, having been appointed by the king a member of Governor Franklin's council in July, 1764, and continuing a member of that body until the Revolution put an end to its existence. He held other public trusts—among them, that of Register of the Board of Proprietors for East New Jersey. His second son, James, born March 3, 1776, became also prominently connected with public affairs in New Jersey. He was a distinguished member of the state legislature twelve years, as well as of the National Congress for four, and filled many important public offices and trusts, and among these, that for settling the boundary between New York and New Jersey. This distinguished Jerseyman was the father of Cortlandt Parker, concerning whom we now write.

Cortlandt Parker was born in June, 1818, at Perth Amboy, N. J., which was the birth-place and home of three preceding gener-

Digitized by Google

ations. His early years were passed under the family roof, and his early education was received in the schools of his native city. At the age of fourteen he was admitted to the Freshman class in Rutgers College, New Jersey, and throughout the four years during which he remained in this institution, he maintained a high rank in all his studies, and, finally, in 1836, was graduated with the first honor, delivering upon the occasion, the valedictory address, to which he was entitled by reason of his scholarship. His class was one specially distinguished in after life. Among its members were Joseph P. Bradley, late a justice of the United States Supreme Court; Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, late Secretary of State of the United States; William A. Newell, formerly Governor of New Jersey; Henry Waldron, long a Member of Congress from Michigan; Professor Coakley, of New York University, and several doctors of divinity in the Reformed Dutch Church.

It may be presumed that the profession of the law was Mr. Parker's own choice, not made, however, as is too frequently the case, because it is a gentlemanly vocation, but from an early high appreciation of its claims as a field for public usefulness. And in thus choosing, he made no mistake. The first choice of his classmate, young Bradley, was the ministry; and if we may believe tradition, he never would have been a justice of the Supreme Court, but for the sagacious advice of his boyish friends, young Parker and Frelinghuysen, who had as wisely judged in this case as in their own. Mr. Parker began the study of law in the office of Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen, then a practitioner in Newark, N. J., and an active participant in the affairs of that newly created city. Within three years, however, Mr. Frelinghuysen retired from practice, and Mr. Parker completed his studies in the office of Amzi Armstrong, a young lawyer of high attainments and great promise, carried away by consumption just as he was reaching the acme of professional life, and after attaining prominence as a member of the state Senate. In 1839 Mr. Parker was admitted to the bar, at the same term with his friend Frelinghuysen, and three months earlier than Mr. Bradley, who was, however, much then senior in age. From that time he gave himself up to his profession in which he is still, apparently in all the vigor of life, fully occupied from morn to night, while his early confreres are all gone, with one exception, Mr. Grover, who still lives, but no longer a daily toiler. From his first appearance at the bar up to the present day, Mr. Parker, as a lawyer, has met with

Digitized by Google

uninterrupted success, and this is not surprising, for, distinction outside of his profession seems never to have entered his mind. Thorough knowledge of the law and familiarity with every thing that could adorn, as well as strengthen him as a lawyer, were foremost in his thought, and thus his qualities as an orator, an advocate and a jurist are the legitimate issue of well trained and well nurtured powers directed by a single purpose. It is not difficult to believe that such devotion to his work has kept him out of the race of politics, though throughout his life and especially during the civil war, he has always been outspoken, earnest, and a leader among the foremost. In the line of duty, he was always ready to perform any task, however disagreeable, and doubtless, in the line of duty, he would have accepted any public office however distasteful. Public office was never sought by him, and he never held but one, that of prosecutor of the pleas of Essex County, N. J., upon which he entered in 1857, and from which he retired in 1867. With distinguished repute as an efficient, conscientious, fearless and upright officer. Though he never held any other office it was not for lack of opportunity. He was named to the Legislature as proper selection for Chancellor in 1857, and twice was prominently named as attorney general of the state. He was offered also the post of justice of the state Supreme Court. By Mr. Secretary Fish and President Grant, he was tendered a judgeship on the bench of the court for settling the Alabama claims. All these positions he declined. President Hayes tendered to him the mission to Russia, and President Arthur that to Vienna. These offers he also declined, and, at a later period, declined a nomination for Congress made in opposition to his wishes by a Republican convention. His legal knowledge and experience were, however, never withheld from the state when, upon important occasions, they were demanded. The difficult task of revising the laws was assigned to him jointly with Chief Justice Beasley and Justice Depue, by the legislature, and performed to the satisfaction of the courts and the people. He served also as a commissioner to settle the disputed boundary lines between New Jersey and Delaware. To him is the state mainly indebted for the passage of the General Railroad Law which has been the means of ridding it of its most abundant source of corruption. In such and other ways has Mr. Parker rendered services to the state, which are not commonly known to the many, and to the publicity of which he has always seemed to be indifferent. But, not to the state alone has he given the benefit of

Digitized by Google

his legal attainments and his experience. The Protesant Episcopal church, with which he is connected, numbers him among its most valued laymen, and to its diocesan conventions he is, year after year, a chosen delegate, while he has been a member, likewise, at the general convention six times.

The limits of this sketch do not permit of an account of Mr. Parker's career as a lawyer. It has extended over half a century and still continues to be run with nearly all his youthful vigor. A mere list of the important causes in which he has been engaged would cover many times the space here occupied in speaking of him. The Meeker will case, in which he early distinguished himself, occupies a prominent place among the celebrated cases which, having had their origin in a county court, have run through all the higher courts of the state, to be finally settled in the highest court of the Union. This litigation covered four or five years, with varied result. Upon the side opposed to him were the afterwards Justice Bradley already mentioned ; Mr. Pennington, afterwards an influential member of Congress, and before that Governor of New Jersey ; Mr. Dayton, a Senator of the United States, and afterwards Attorney General of New Jersey and Minister to France ; Mr. Halsted, afterwards Chancellor of New Jersey. With Mr. Parker, then a comparatively young man, were Mr. Asa Whitehead, one of Newark's most distinguished lawyers ; Mr. Frelinghuysen, already mentioned, subsequently Attorney General of the State, Senator of the United States and Secretary of State under President Arthur, and Mr. Runyon, afterwards Chancellor of New Jersey, and now Ambassador to Germany. Another litigation of note managed by Mr. Parker is known as the Bridge case ; suits brought to prevent the construction of two bridges across the Passaic river, to the injury of the commerce and navigation of Newark, N. J. Herein was involved the constitutional question as to whether tidal waters leading to a port could be obstructed under authority of a state legislature. This case passed from a hearing before Mr. Justice Grier, of the N. J. Supreme Court, on appeal by Mr. Parker's clients to the U. S. Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Taney, presiding. The Court divided in opinion, so that Judge Grier's decision was unreversed. Afterwards under Chief Justice Chase, the constitutional question was settled, not exactly in accordance with the opinion of Judge Grier, but by the announcement of a doctrine that, where the navigable water existed wholly within the bounds of a state, its legislature

Digitized by Google

could authorize obstructions, *unless* Congress had passed or should pass an act forbidding it. The great Lease Case, so called, involving many millions of dollars, in which the right of the Pennsylvania Railroad Co. to acquire the United Railroad & Canal Companies of New Jersey, was closed for the Pennsylvania Co., by Mr. Parker, and by the late Judge Black, for the stockholders who complained. In the contest between the Erie and the Morris & Essex Railroad, respecting the right of way and occupation of the tunnel leading to New York, Mr. Parker was of counsel for the Morris & Essex, the winning party.

For many years Mr. Parker has been spoken of as the leader of the New Jersey bar, but, as such, his eloquent speeches and powerful arguments are not preserved in a form in which they are easily accessible to the general reader. Many, however, of his orations and addresses, delivered before public assemblies and learned societies, may be found in the leading libraries of the country. Some of those most frequently referred to are published under tne following titles: "The Moral Guilt of the Rebellion," 1862; "Philip Kearney, Soldier and Patriot," 1863; "Our Triumphs and our Duties," 1865; "New Jersey, Her Present and Future," 1870; "Abraham Lincoln," 1872; "The Open Bible, or Tolerant Christianity," 1876; "Alexander Hamilton and William Paterson," 1880; delivered before the American Bar Association, of which he was subsequently president, and as such delivered, another address, "Justice Joseph P. Bradley," 1893. Many others might be named, enough to make a portly volume. Mr. Parker's scholarly attainments and literary labors have won for him the degree of LL. D., from his Alma Mater, Rutgers College, as well as from the College of New Jersey. He has lately acted as senior counsel in the two cases of great interest to his native state. One of which a "gerrymander," so called, was defeated by the establishment of the doctrine that the practice of electing members of the Assembly by districts, introduced in and existing since 1851, was unconstitutional, and that they be chosen by general vote of the county; the other, not yet decided, involving the question which of the two separate contending bodies is the Senate of the state.

The engraving accompanying this sketch is taken from a crayon drawing made some years ago. But Mr. Parker is a young looking man for his years, little changed in general appearance, erect, alert, ruddy, and this portrait will readily be recognized by all his friends.

Digitized by Google

WASHINGTON AT PRINCETON.

On, to the battle's front
  Rides the undaunted chief;
On, past his quailing troops,
  On, towards the charging foe;
Halts there unmoveable.

Well know his wavering men
  What means that last appeal,—
"*Rally, boys, rally!*"

Full in the battle's brunt
  There stands their dauntless chief
While forms the foeman's line:—

"*Ready! Aim! Fire!*"
—the dread
Roar of their musketry
  Answers to ours,—the smoke
Hides him we love—

Oh God!
Wrapt in that murky cloud
  What sight awaits our gaze?
Has he too fallen, pierced,—
  Pierced by the deadly shot
Hurled in by friend and foe?—

Ha! see—the foe is flying,
  While mid the dead and dying
We hail our hero chief
  Scatheless beyond belief;—
"*Thank God!*"—
"*Away, away!*
On, on! and win the day!"

CHARLES D. PLATT.

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE.

CHARLES WILLOUGHBY DAYTON.

No other governmental institution in America reaches constantly and intimately so large a number of people as the New York Post Office. The business handled is immense. As the office of the metropolis its influence is national. As the office of the principal commercial entrepot, where centre the great steamship lines, its importance is international. Its annual financial transactions amount to about one hundred and fifty million dollars. The free delivery service handles three hundred and thirty-five million pieces, the registry eight and one-half millions. The foreign letters are fifty-six millions, weighing nearly two thousand tons; while the other foreign mail matters received or despatched by steamer amount to five tons daily. Besides the large city delivery, the domestic and foreign mails distributed and despatched through this office give an average for each day of the round year of eleven thousand bags and pouches, weighing about four hundred tons. This includes about one and one-fourth million personal communications. For the entire year we have more than a half billion communications, four million mail bags, and one hundred and forty thousand tons of matter. About one billion pieces of mail matter were handled in this city last year. The net revenues to the government, beyond the expenses of the office, for the year 1892, were four and one-half million dollars.

The official head of such a business becomes one of the most important appointees of the general government. This results not only from the magnitude of the business, but still more from its nature. In this age of material progress no especial development is more significant than the astonishing changes in methods and rapidity of communication, and the uses made of the new facilities. The writer has in his possession a letter, mailed from Hanover Court House, Virginia, only fifty-six years ago, and received, more than two weeks after it was posted, by an anxious young wife in central New York, who gladly paid twenty-five cents on its delivery.

The triumph of telegraph and telephone merely stimulate communication by mail. They only intensify the demand for the very

Digitized by Google

Charles W. Dayton

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Digitized by Google

best results attainable as to speed and safety in mail service. Business is now conducted upon a scale which fifty years ago was practically impossible. And in spite of immense and constant use of electricity, the main reliance is still upon the mail, which, if not actually carried by lightning, yet cannot afford to be too much behind. It must at least travel by "Lightning Express" and "Cannon Ball Trains," between the greater centres of business. What may be called the social correspondence of the country, quite equal in size and importance to the other, also catches the infectious haste which permeates the modern atmosphere. Word from the Pacific slope used to be a question of months and a doubtful question at that; but now if the mission of business, friendship or love tarries twenty-four hours beyond the allotted six days of its swift flight across a broad continent, we are up in arms, and want somebody's official head in our basket.

Since the government has undertaken to convey the products of press and pen to the four corners of the earth, the one thing in this regard the citizen demands from his government is the utmost accessibility, safety and celerity. He makes no account of the cost, and, indeed, would like to see the annual deficit in the post-office department larger if he could be assured that the greatest of governmental conveniences for the people was correspondingly improved. He believes it the cheapest thing ever sold to the people for taxes. He may believe in retrenchment never so hard, but parsimony at this point exasperates him. Nor will he rest till the people have penny postage from Florida to Alaska.

Postmaster General Bissell, in his report for 1893, says: "Nearly all the mails to and from the other nations of the world are dispatched from, or received, at the New York office. . . . . "It will be seen, therefore, that the whole country is interested in securing the best possible service at this point."

Such being the case, with the intelligent American people of every name and party, we may be assured that the universal citizen of the Republic desires his chief metropolitan officer—the very heart and pulsing centre of the United States Mail service—to possess such complete service, administrative power, facility of space and equipment, that its immeasurably important business may be carried on at the very highest point of efficiency.

It has become evident that to the attainment of such results the present postmaster of the New York office, Hon. Charles W. Dayton,

Digitized by Google

who received his appointment from President Cleveland, June 5, 1893, is zealously devoting his energies. Many needs unsupplied and many points wherein the service could be improved, he was not long in discovering, and in such case, one would think that the knowledge of defects and desire to remove them, ought to be the signal for every needed transformation.

Like his predecessor, Mr. Dayton found himself embarrassed by lack of space for business and force for its proper despatch; without waiting, he pushed forward the equipment and manning of the new branch office on Lexington avenue and 43d street, and by transferring the business of the uptown publishing houses to this point, gave immediate relief to the main office.

In a business like this, so vital to all interests of the people, and in view of the wealth of the nation as well as the handsome net revenue (four and one-half millions) from this great office of New York city, whatever else lacks or waits, there should be no hesitation in providing hands and facilities for the most complete service that money will secure.*

One man has already by his administration of this office made for himself a national reputation, and should Mr. Dayton, by his resources, resolution and persistence succeed in doing for the service and for the city what is clearly in his mind to do, the achievement must be equally widely recognized.†

Charles Willoughby Dayton is descended from New England ancestry. His father, Abraham Child Dayton, born in New York city, and educated in Europe, was a man of cultivation and literary

* It is the suggestion of Mr. Dayton that New York and some other post-offices of National importance should have special appropriations without the intervention of rules and methods properly applicable to other offices. The Post-Master General adopts and strongly commends this suggestion in his last report.

Another apt suggestion of Mr. Dayton is that the department should own its principal branch offices in the city as the Police and Fire departments own their stations in the various districts. They could thus be more completely controlled, arranged and equipped in the interests of the service.

† One incident in the brief administration of Mr. Dayton is very characteristic of his determination and ability and worthy of somewhat full mention. It may not be generally known that the Post-office building was erected, and is used, in part for Court purposes, and as a government building is in the custody of the Secretary of the Treasury. Since 1874, John I. Davenport, as Supervisor of Elections for the Southern District of New York has occupied three large rooms in the building as an office and place of records. This occupancy did not seem to Mr. Dayton to be within the provisions of the grant of the property, and even if appropriate or lawful seemed a great waste of room much needed for postal uses. Upon application to the secretary of the Treasury an order was given for the surrender of the rooms and with this instrument Mr. Dayton took and held possession by superior force and strategy. By this coup d'état Mr. Davenport was forced to become complainant in the United States Circuit Court and the legal issue was made up. So ably was the case managed by Mr. Dayton, who was his own lawyer, appearing at the same time as custodian, post-master, and attorney for the Secretary of the Treasury, that when Judge E. Henry Lacombe handed down his decision, it was found to sustain every position set forth in Mr. Dayton's brief. It is not to be doubted that the case will form an important precedent in any similar controversy in the future.

Digitized by Google

tastes, a contributor to the periodicals of the day, and the author of "Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York." His mother was a daughter of Dr. David Tomlinson, and a descendant of Andrew Adams, a signer of the Articles of Confederation, a Colonel of the Continental Army, speaker in 1779 and 1780 of the Continental Congress, and afterward Chief Justice of Connecticut. Charles Willoughby Dayton, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, and for whom he was named, removed from Stratford, Connecticut, to New York city, where he became a prominent citizen and merchant.

His grandson and namesake was born October 3, 1846, in Brooklyn, New York, but has resided since early infancy in New York city. He entered the College of the City of New York, in 1861, but without completing his course, left college for a law office. Later he entered the law school of Columbia College, from which he graduated in 1868. Since that time he has industriously and successfully applied himself to the practice of his profession.

At an early age Mr. Dayton took an interest in politics. In 1864, too young to vote, he sustained, in public speeches, the candidacy of General George B. McClellan. Since the year 1861, he had resided in the "Harlem" section of the city, and is prominently identified with its many local interests. In 1881 he was elected to the State Legislature, and received the compliment of a place upon the Judiciary Committee. He was an able advocate of municipal reform, and championed the primary election law of 1881. For professional reasons he declined a renomination.

Mr. Dayton is a trustee of the Church of the Puritans, a director and the counsel of the Twelfth Ward Bank and of the Twelfth Ward Savings Bank, a trustee of the Harlem Library and of the Harlem Law Library, and president of the Board for the Improvement of Park avenue above One Hundred and sixth street, an improvement involving the expenditure of several million dollars. It was largely through Mr. Dayton's instrumentality that the Legislature of 1892 authorized this work, and his appointment, unsought by him, was a very natural consequence.

Mr. Dayton was the prime mover and leading spirit in the organization, in 1882, of the widely influential Harlem Democratic Club. In the same year he became secretary of the Citizens' Reform Movement. In Democratic State Conventions he has served on platform committees and as chairman of committee on permanent organization. He was one of the electors, and the secretary of the

Digitized by Google

College of Electors, who cast the vote of New York for Cleveland and Hendricks, in 1884, and was active and effective in the canvass for Cleveland during the campaigns of 1888 and 1892.*

In 1893, Mr. Dayton was elected a delegate to the Constitutional Convention of the state of New York, which will meet in May, 1894.

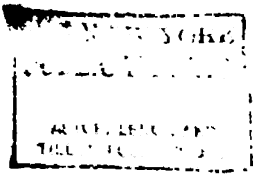
In 1874, Mr. Dayton married Laura A. Newman, daughter of John B. Newman, M. D. He has three children.

In politics Mr. Dayton is recognized by all parties as a man who stands for intelligent public spirit, clean citzenship, and good government. His success as a public man is due to a union of marked abilities with integrity in public and private affairs. A democrat and a true party man, he yet exalts patriotism above partizanship. His loyalty to principle and to friendship bring him a large personal following. His political opponents are, at the same time, his personal friends. This was finely illustrated upon his appointment as Postmaster by President Cleveland—a complete surprise to Mr. Dayton, and an honor accepted as a call to public duty and party unity, at a sacrifice of personal and professional interests. It was an appointment which met the approval of the entire community and called out the most flattering notices from all the metropolitan journals, without distinction of party.

In the facts presented above, we have ample proof that an able lawyer, enthusiastic and widely successful in his profession, and who accepts with reluctance a call to public duty, is not without qualifications as a man of affairs.

* In 1888 he delivered a speech in Burlington, Iowa, which was printed and distributed by the National Democratic Committee as a campaign document.

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

E. P. Jordan

NEW YORK PHYSICIANS.

EDWARD PAYSON FOWLER, M. D.

Edward Payson Fowler, one of the most successful physicians of New York city, was born at Cohocton, Steuben county, New York, on the 30th of November, 1834. His family constitutes one of the oldest Puritan stocks. He himself is the sixth lineal descendant of William Fowler, who came from Lincoln, England (the home of his ancestors since the twelfth century), and landed in Massachusetts in 1630. Dr. Fowler's grandfather, Eliphalet Fowler, born near Boston, served in the Revolutionary army with the rank of major. His son Horace, Dr. Fowler's father, was born at Old Stockbridge, where he was an active churchman, an author, held the office of judge, and was a life-long Federalist and Whig.

The Doctor's mother, Mary Taylor, was the grand-niece of that Mrs. Phillips, of Maryland, whose daughter was the first sweetheart of George Washington. The parents of that young lady, as well known from colonial biography, took her with them on a protracted visit to Europe, in order to avoid the attentions of the young Virginian, he not having then won his spurs.

After some time spent in literary studies, Dr. Fowler entered the New York Medical College, from which he graduated with the highest honors, taking the first prize on March 1, 1855. Dating from the day of his graduation he entered into partnership with Doctors John F. Gray and A. Gerald Hull, whose practice was then perhaps the most extensive, and among the most affluent class, of that of any physicians in New York city. This circumstance very naturally made Dr. Fowler's practice an unusually extensive one from the commencement.

In addition to the "Old School" curriculum, Dr. Fowler studied the system known as Homœopathy, and found it, as he thought, in many respects better than the "Old School" methods as then practiced. He at first avoided membership with any medical society; but he soon learned, through most tyrannical and unjust treatment, that no one could accept even the valuable

Digitized by Google

suggestions in Homœopathy without incurring professional ostracism, attempted social odium, and even disadvantages in business. Against such moral and intellectual shackles, Dr. Fowler declared unconditional war; and as a means for emancipating his profession from such degradation, he took active measures to help into existence the "New York County Homœopathic Society."

Dr. Fowler was careful, at that time, to distinctly and repeatedly express his opposition, on principle, to the establishing or encouraging of any medical *sect* of whatever kind or style, for the reason that he regarded medicine as a unit. Nevertheless, he was fully conscious that his course, at that period, was the only one left open through which to secure the needed practical working organization.

When the Homœopathic division in medicine grew to sufficient size and power, it commanded the attention of the intelligent and thinking part of the "Old School;" and in a wide degree it was realized on both sides that if medicine was to be awarded the claims made for it as a scientific body, friendly rivalry must take the place of rancor. In 1878, this sentiment assumed palpable form in the adoption by the "Old School" of New York State, of those rules known as the "New Code."

Dr. Fowler regarded this as a complete abandonment of the principles in practice previously, which had afforded just cause for complaint on the grounds of intolerance. The only qualification demanded under these rules was the legally required medical education, and on this plane every shade of professional practice and conviction stood practically equal. A labor of twenty-three years had thus seen its end accomplished. The "Old School" as a sect had ceased to be; it had become, instead, the *Comprehensive School.*

But now a new and unforeseen obstacle to harmony appeared. The Homœopathic school was indisposed, formally, to take a catholic stand, which was inconsistent with one of the main, continuous efforts of Dr. Fowler's entire professional life. He felt, therefore, that he had no course open to him other than to join the now comprehensive school of medicine, or else stand aloof from all medical bodies. He adopted the first-named course,—not as indicating a change in his ideas, but as an unbroken continuance of them. The change of front had occurred, not with him, but in the attitudes of the respective schools of medicine.

Digitized by Google

What was the conservative, had now become the progressive school, and *vice versa*, and Dr. Fowler merely adjusted his associations accordingly.

At present Dr. Fowler is a member of various Medical societies —the Academy of Medicine, the Medical Society of the County of New York, the New York Neurological Society, and others. For many years he served on the staffs of the Wards Island and Hahnemann Hospitals. The Regents' Honorary Degree of Medicine was conferred upon him by the Board of Regents of New York State, and by the same body he was appointed as Examiner in Anatomy in "the first Board of New York State Examiners for conferring medical degrees."

Dr. Fowler has been, moreover, a generous contributor to medical literature; is the author of several medical works, and a translator of several from the French and German. He has also passed much time abroad in travel and study. He is a member of the Union League Club, of New York city.

Digitized by Google

RECENT HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN; by John T. Morse, Jr., in 2 vols. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1893. (American Statesmen Series.)

The treatment of a great and important period in the history of our republic is compressed within these two small volumes. The period is so recent that its impartial treatment is very difficult, yet the author has succeeded in giving it, as will be acknowledged by all such as are able to take the stand of the fair minded student of history or politics. It is, again, so crowded with events of a military and political nature, that the task of concentration must have been a hard one. Yet the aim of the series, to present a study of political aspects of the times and persons treated of, rather than detailed biographies or minute annals, helps the author to resist the temptation of relating the course of brilliant campaigns or great battles.

In depicting the man, Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Morse has wisely refrained from glossing over the rudeness of the surroundings in the midst of which his life began. His own explanation of this course is the best and most convincing: "The feeling which has led to suppression or to a falsely romantic description seems to me unreasonable and wrong. The very quality which made Lincoln, as a young man, not much superior to his coarse surroundings, was precisely the same quality which, ripening and expanding rapidly and grandly with maturing years and a greater circle of humanity, made him what he was in later life. . . . . If we reject this trait we throw away the only key which unlocks the problem of the most singular life, taken from end to end, which has ever been witnessed among men."

The account of the gradual rise of Lincoln into prominence before the country, is well presented, but of course the interest centres around that great crisis for which this plain, good man seems to have been specially raised up, and who by it and the very plainness and directness of his character, appeared in his true greatness of soul. Perhaps from all that the author says or implies to picture to us the real worth and marvelous fitness of the man for the hour, we can select no more apt expression of the matter than the following:

Digitized by Google

"It seems right at this place [I., p. 320–1.] to note one fact concerning Mr. Lincoln which ought not to be overlooked and which cannot be denied. This is his entire *political unselfishness*, the earnest moral quality among men in public life. . . . . By his position he had more at stake, both in his lifetime and before the tribunal of the future, than any other person in the country. But there was only one idea in his mind, and that was,—not that *he should save the country, but that the country should be saved.* . . . . . To his own future he seemed to give no thought. It would be unjust to allow the dread of appearing to utter eulogy rather than historic truth to betray a biographer into overlooking this genuine magnanimity."

Military matters are not dwelt upon at length throughout these volumes, yet in so far as Mr. Lincoln had direct dealings with them, and thus illustrated his fitness for the exalted position he occupied at this trying time, they naturally occupy the author much. This is especially true of the complications growing out of the McClellan controversy. It needed a careful hand to deal with these, and we think they deserve the fullness of the treatment given them ; while at the same time it is refreshing to observe the impartiality of the presentation. Speaking of the controversy, Mr. Morse says it was one "causing animosities vastly more fierce than any between Union soldiers and Confederates, animosities which have unfortunately lasted longer, and which can never be brought to the like final and conclusive arbitrament. . . . . In later days the strong partisan loves and hatreds of our historical writers have perpetuated and increased all this bad blood, confusion, and obscurity." Such works as this of Mr. Morse's will help to allay the partisanship, if anything can do it within this first generation of these happenings.

Questions of a very interesting nature arose during all these troubles, regarding political philosophy, or more concretely, the relations of the Constitution to the conditions of rebellion or civil war, and the emancipation of the slaves. Mr. Morse says tersely, respecting the former: "Nice points of domestic constitutional law also arose with the first necessity for action. . . . . The plain truth was that, in a condition faintly contemplated in the Constitution, many things not permitted by the Constitution must be done to preserve the Constitution." In the matter of emancipation, the author skillfully traces its evolution from the logic of events. The war was not begun for that ; it was to rebuke and suppress secession, not slavery. But the second evil was all the time the basis of the first,

Digitized by Google

and it had to come to the foreground, and to be removed: "Too close to the surface to be long suppressed lay the demand that those who declared the Union to be the sole issue should explain how it came about that the Union was put in issue at all, why there was any dissatisfaction with it. . . . . All knew the answer to that question; all knew that if the war was due to disunion, disunion in turn was due to slavery." It was of especial importance to our foreign relations that it was made clear that emancipation should be the result of the war. As Motley observes, writing from his post at Vienna: "Infinite pains are taken by the agents of the slave-holders to convince the world that the North is as much in favor of slavery as the South. . . . . I am entirely convinced . . . . that nothing but a proclamation of emancipation to every negro in the country will save us from war with England and France combined." Nothing illustrates Mr. Lincoln's wisdom, prudence and conscientiousness more grandly than his own progress towards this great act of his administration, but for which he alone deserves the credit.

By the way, we are greatly surprised that Mr. Morse makes not a single reference to Motley in all his book, for many of his positions are sustained by this scholarly contemporary observer. Our above citation is one evidence, and surely he could have quoted Motley's estimate of Lincoln with great satisfaction: "He impressed me as a man of the most extraordinary conscientiousness. He seemed to have a window in his breast. There was something almost childlike in his absence of guile and affectation of any kind. . . . What our Republic, what the whole world has to be grateful for, is that God has endowed our chief magistrate at such a momentous period of history with so lofty a moral nature and with so loving and forgiving a disposition. . . . . His faculty of divining the right amid a conflict of dogmas, theories, and of weighing other men's opinions while retaining his own judgment, almost amounted to political genius; but his great characteristic was devotion to duty."

Surely, Mr. Morse could not have wished a description more to his heart, or more in accord with the drift of his own delineation. To think that he was ignorant of Motley's abundant correspondence on the subject, is impossible; to think that he should have deliberately ignored it, and refused to fortify his positions with an occasional citation from Motley, seems inexplicable.

Digitized by Google

NEW YORK.—The Planting and the Growth of the Empire State, by Ellis H. Roberts; in 2 vols. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1893. (American Commonwealths Series.)

These volumes possess the rather unusual feature of a continuous numbering of pages, so that the first page of Vol. II. numbers 359. This certainly renders the mode of reference in the index easier, as no mention of Vol. I. or II. is necessary. The two cover 758 pages, and not very large ones at that, yet Mr. Roberts has succeeded in crowding much into brief space, in a clear and satisfactory manner. There was a broad field to be gone over; many commonwealths of our Union need no great reach back into preceding centuries to complete their story from beginning to end. But New York is among the oldest of the bright sisterhood composing our youthful nation. Even 1524 and 1525 are legitimate dates in her history, although a mere glimpse of her territory was then had. But from 1609 onwards her annals begin to be written with some fullness of detail, which for Massachusetts was not needed till 1620, and for Virginia had been required for only two years earlier. It was obviously Mr. Roberts's task to carry us through the narrative of Dutch settlement and colonization, and of the English conquest and consolidation of the foreign colony into a harmonious whole with the others strung along the Atlantic. Then came the regular succession of the wars, with French and Indians; against the mother country, first to gain our liberty and then to retain our self-respect; and lastly there was to be told the position held by New York in the civil war. We find these matters all conscientiously presented, with nothing very new; but neither is there much omitted that other investigators, limiting themselves to more special times or events, had culled before.

Among colonial occurrences are placed two thoughtful chapters gathering together interesting and valuable observations on the topography of New York, and on the significance of the Indian confederacy of the Iroquois, whose seat of empire was within the bounds of the Empire state—prophetic therefore of the name afterward bestowed upon it by Washington, and even in his time still largely prophetic. The author has not failed to do justice to the New York merchants in their endeavors to save principles of citizenship by the sacrifice of commercial profits in the days of non-importation; which was kept up by them until defections in regions more obstreperously patriotic made it impossible here. Nor is it forgotten by him that in those critical days when nationality was evolving and the consti-

Digitized by Google

tution was forming, New York was the first to cede its lands to the Union—a practical recognition that such a union needed to have a concrete existence as well as a theoretical one. When the author has reached the last and most important part—part IV.—"A State in the Union," chapters abound which treat of developments of the very highest interest: viz: "Waterways," "Progress of Education," "Literary Activity," "Master in Manufactures," and others discussing kindred topics of a general sociological or political bearing.

The concluding chapter is devoted to a treatment of the "Primacy of New York," and we make no apology for prolonging this notice, by quoting one paragraph from it:

"By its position and by its relations, hardly more than by its sentiment and its patriotism, New York has been an integer in the nation, rather than a state disposed to assert sovereignty. In the amendments which it insisted should be made a part of the national constitution, the rights of the citizen are guaranteed before any reservation is made in behalf of the states. Complaint has sometimes arisen that sufficient attention has not been given by its own people to the history, to the services, to the greatness of the commonwealth. They have been living in the present and looking to the future, rather than the past, and been content to hold the first place in the sisterhood of equal states. Its rivers and its mountains bind it to the republic, and the convictions as well as the interests and the pride of New York reach out over every part of the united nation."

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Engd. by Williams Nealford

The New York Etching Co

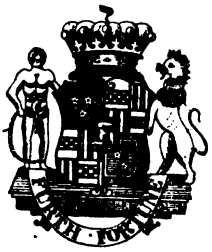
Digitized by Google

THE NATIONAL MAGAZINE.

VOL. XIX. APRIL-MAY, 1894. NO. 6-7.

NEW YORK IN THE STAMP ACT TROUBLES, 1766–1769.

PART III.*



DUNMORE SEAL.

UP to this time all the disturbances had been at night; but the Sons of Liberty of Philadelphia, sending an express to New-York on Feb. 14th [1766] with word that Mediterranean passes (passes issued by the British government under treaty with the Dey of Algiers, for safe passage of the Straits of Gibraltar) had been sent out from New-York on American stamped paper, by Messrs. Pintard & Williams, two well known merchants, all disguise was thrown off, and the Sons of Liberty, headed by Lamb, Sears, and Allicocke, marched in broad daylight to the houses of these gentlemen. The next day their persons were seized and taken to the common, where they narrowly escaped being pilloried only on the appeal of the clergymen of the city. They were put on their defense and made humble submission, first on the common, again at their door-steps, and later on oath published in the "Gazette." On February 17, the Falmouth packet brought the satisfactory news that it had been decided that there could be no appeal from the verdict of a jury; but also that of the declaration of Grenville in the house that the colonies were in rebellion. Nor was he far astray, when now for nearly three months, the "New-York Gazette" was boldly printed under the heading, "The united voice of all His Majesty's free and loyal subjects in America, Liberty and Property, and no Stamps;" when societies of the Sons of Liberty were already formed in every town

* From "The Memorial History of New-York.

Digitized by Google

and hamlet, and their resolutions published in the New-York prints when Colonel Putnam openly advised the New-York committee that he would assist them with the Connecticut militia, in the New York province or any other ; nay, more, when the New-York committee openly announced their purpose to seize all the crown officers and embark them for England, while the more radical publicly declared for shaking off the yoke of dependency. At this time the governor himself was wearing American homespun, with the avowed purpose of encouraging American manufactures, while the engineer Montresor was just completing his military survey of the city for General Gage and finishing the unspiking of the ordnance, spiked on the battery by Colden's orders, before the crisis of November.

On Thursday, March 6, the leaders of the populace resolved to show their opinion of Colden's action, and organized a large procession carrying an effigy representing the lieutenant-governor mounted on a cannon and drilling a vent. On his head was a paper with these lines :

> I'm deceived by the Devil and left in the lurch ;
> And I'm forced to do penance, tho' not in the church.

After it had been paraded through the chief streets, the effigy was burned on the common. On the 12th, news came from England that Captain Kennedy had been superseded in his command of the man-of-war Coventry for having refused to receive the stamps. The same packet bringing news that Sir Jeffery Amherst had urged an increase of British forces in America, it was proposed to have another procession and to burn him in effigy ; and it was also proposed to erect a statue to William Pitt, the recognized friend of the colonies, at the Bowling Green, and that the Green be known forever after as Liberty Green. On the night of the 19th, the Sons of Liberty performed an act of boldness as yet unrivaled in their proceedings. They delegated two of their committee to go on board the Garland ship-of-war and demand the surrender of one of the lieutenants of that vessel for having said that the printer Holt deserved hanging for the licentiousness of his paper. The lieutenant was not given up, and the next morning the navy and army officers concerted for common defence. This action of General Gage was a cause of great exasperation to the citizens. They resented the interposition of the military between the navy and themselves. A few days later news came from Connecticut that Colonel Putnam

Digitized by Google

was ready to march with ten thousand men, and that arms and ammunition were already collected. Yet at that time not a stamp had reached that colony—all remaining in New-York.

BURNS COFFEE HOUSE, FROM THE GARDEN.

A crisis had evidently arrived, and there seems little doubt that within a few days a collision would have occurred and a revolution have been precipitated, when, on the afternoon of March 25, an express arrived from the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia bringing word of the arrival in the Chesapeake of a vessel from Cork, with advices "that everything relating to the affairs of America was settled, . . . the Stamp Act repealed, and requisitions to be made to the respective colonies for the support of the American establishments." As an instance of the rapid exchange of letters by the Sons of Liberty, it is stated that "this express arrived in twenty-two hours." There being reasonable doubt as to the exactness of this news, there was no relaxation in the efforts of the organization for concerted action, and as a first step toward concentration, congresses of the local societies were called in several of the colonies. On the other hand, the crown officers took measures of precaution. One thousand barrels of powder and twelve thousand stands of arms were put on board the men-of-war in New-York harbor for safety. But the commander-in-chief was compelled to use wood-boats for their transfer, the vessels in port declining the service, and Governor Moore refusing a press-warrant to General Gage, "as 'twas time of peace." The general protesting, the governor and council consented to the issue of the useless warrant, the result of it being that exasperation against the military now took practical shape. The officers of the Royal Americans were insulted, and on one occasion one of their number was

Digitized by Google

assaulted and his sword broken. On April 4, definite news reached the city from Charleston, South Carolina, of the repeal of the stamp act on February 8. Yet this also was premature, as it was not until February 22 that Secretary Conway moved in the Commons for leave to report a bill of repeal, and that Pitt, who had hobbled into the house on crutches and wrapped in flannels, amid the cheers of the bystanders, supported the motion, "as due to the liberty of unrepresented subjects, and in gratitude to their having supported England through three wars." When, on midnight of March 4, the bill was finally repealed, it was accompanied by an act declaratory of the absolute power of parliament to bind America. The bill for repeal passed the Lords on March 17, and the next day the king, sitting in state at Westminster, gave his assent. Bow Bells rang out the delight of London, and the happy conclusion was celebrated by dinners, bonfires, and a general display of colors. On Tuesday, May 20, an express from Boston brought the news of the repeal. It had been received from Liverpool by a brig belonging to John Hancock. The Sons of Liberty met in the evening, and the next day issued a call for a general meeting at one o'clock the day after at the house of Mr. Richard Howard* in the Fields. The day was celebrated with a dinner, with a "royal salute," and at night there were two bonfires on the common and a general illumination. Pitt was the hero of the toasts, and was designated "the Guardian of America." The gratitude of the people to Pitt was general throughout the colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia. The idea of a statue in recognition of his services, proposed in New-York, first took practical form in the assembly of South Carolina, by whom in May a marble statue was ordered, and also portraits of her commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress. The example was later followed by New-York. The two statues were similar and by the same artist, Wilmot of London. That executed for South Carolina still exists in Charleston. That in

PITT STATUE.

*So in the call—no doubt the house of William Howard.

Digitized by Google

New-York was defaced by the British troops during the Revolutionary War. Its headless form may still be seen in the collection of the New-York Historical Society.

The first non-importation agreement, the famous act of commercial defense against the oppression of the British parliament, originated, as has been shown, in the city of New-York, and was undertaken at the deliberate self-sacrifice of the merchants and tradesmen of the city. Copied in Philadelphia and later in Boston, it was at first universally hailed as the true measure of retaliation. Its effect was immediate on the sentiment of the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, and its result was the repeal of the stamp act. The compliance in New-York with the strict terms of the agreement seems to have been from the first general and voluntary, and to have required the interference of no specially appointed committee for its enforcement. But pending the repeal of the act, the Sons of Liberty took care that there should be no infringement of the agreement. On May 24, 1766, a vessel came in from Bristol bringing a cargo of salt, coal, and bottled beer, consigned to Mr. Bache. Immediately a committee, led by Isaac Sears, boarded the vessel, demanded and received the papers for the cargo, and the same being discharged and branded with the New-York arms, was reshipped to Great Britain. These goods came on commission, and no doubt were shipped after January 1, the date fixed by the agreement, but without the knowledge of Mr. Bache, the consignee. This seems to have been the only act of infringement.

As early as April 15, the Sons of Liberty declared that even though the stamp act itself should be repealed, they would insist on all restrictions of trade being removed and the abolishment of post-offices and courts of admiralty. On May 11, the New-York committee informed that of Philadelphia "that a very great majority of merchants and inhabitants of the city [New-York] are positively determined that the non-importation agreement shall not be broke through here (while the other colonies continue to adhere to it) till a total repeal of the Acts imposing duties upon paper, painters' colours, glass and tea, takes place." The act of repeal, as will be remembered, was accompanied by an act declaratory of the right of king and parliament "to bind the colonies and his Majesty's subjects in them in all cases whatsoever;" and Pitt himself, in his demand for the repeal, had said, "Let the sovereign authority of this country [Great Britain] over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as

Digitized by Google

can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever except that taking of money out of their pockets without their consent."

Hardly were the rejoicings in the city of New-York begun before the Sons of Liberty further declared that they would neither obey nor suffer to be obeyed any requisition whatever. Later advices and a publication of the warm appeals of the friends of America in parliament, and the congratulations to the merchants from their London correspondents, greatly calmed the general excitement; and as these letters advised a further ease to American trade by taking off several restrictions, the extreme purposes of the more radical of the Sons of Liberty were modified or fell to the ground. Montresor tells us that they even "divested themselves of their home-spun clothes, and were supposed only to remain with home-spun hearts." All business was resumed on the old footing. The organization itself was shortly after dissolved. As its minutes are not, so far as known, in existence, it is difficult to fix the precise date of discontinuance. The last official paper in the collection of John Lamb, who seems to have been the custodian or secretary of the society, is a letter of May 24 from Albany, signed by Jeremiah Van Rensselaer and others of the committee of correspondence of that place. A later letter, dated London, July 28, 1766, from Mr. Nicholas Ray, a wealthy merchant of New-York and an ardent patriot, speaks of his being informed that "the Society is dissolved." Mr. Ray, recognizing the great service rendered by the constant dissemination of news in England through the action of the society, urged the formation of a club by ten or twenty of the leading mem-

STATUE OF GEORGE III.

Digitized by Google

bers of the late society, under the title of the Liberty Club, which should meet monthly and annually celebrate the deliverance of America. The recommendation of Mr. Ray was not found advisable, as the Lamb correspondence shows.*

The reaction from the intense strain was great, and for the moment everything was forgotten but a feeling of relief, which displayed itself in wild demonstrations of loyalty to the king on the anniversary of his birthday, which fell upon June 5. The bells of every church were rung at daylight. At nine o'clock preparations began for the roasting of two large fat oxen on the common, where a great crowd gathered to gaze on the mighty roast beef. At noon the firing of a gun summoned the authorities and the principal gentlemen of the city to wait on the governor at the fort and drink the king's health. The battery guns fired a royal salute, and the people exclaimed, "Long live the King, the darling of his people!" Three hundred and forty persons sat down to an entertainment given by the principal inhabitants. Forty-one toasts were drunk. At the king's health a royal salute was fired by the guns on the common, and at each toast afterward a salute was given to complete twenty-eight, the number of years of the king's age; nor were the friends of America in England forgotten. The overplus of the tables was sent to the common, and the new jail and poorhouses were remembered. There was high festivity on the common also; on each side of one of the roasting oxen was a large stage with twenty-five barrels of beer, a hogshead of rum, sugar and water to make punch, bread, etc.; at one end a pile of twenty cords of wood with a tall mast in the middle, to the head of which were hoisted twelve tar- and pitch-barrels and placed on a round top; at the other end of the common were fixed twenty-five pieces of cannon, and at the top of a mast a flagstaff with colors displayed. In the evening the whole town was illuminated in the grandest manner that ever was seen here, and the streets were crowded, yet without disputes, quarreling, or accident. Similar demonstrations of loyalty were made in Philadelphia, where in addition the gentlemen had previously, at a great public entertainment, engaged, in their gratitude for the repeal, to dress themselves in a new suit of the manufactures of England and give their home-spun to the poor. In Boston the Sons of Liberty, in celebration of the glorious majority

* Having named this gentleman as the London correspondent, it may interest some to know that Jonathan Sturges, of Fairfield, Connecticut, was the agent through whom the correspondence of the society passed for that colony.

Digitized by Google

for the repeal in the House of Commons, increased the number of lanterns on the tree of liberty from forty-five to one hundred and eight.

The New York assembly, summoned by Sir Henry Moore, met on June 16, and voted a warm and dutiful address, engaging the province to new ardor for the king's person, a cheerful obedience to the laws, and a respectful conduct toward the mother country. William Nicoll was the speaker of the assembly. On the 23d a large meeting of freemen and freeholders was held at the Merchants' Coffee House, and addressed a petition to the general assembly for "an elegant statue of brass of Pitt." The petition was presented to the city members (John Cruger, Philip Livingston, Leonard Lispenard, and William Bayard), and by a committee appointed at the meeting. This was composed of James De Lancey, William Walton, John Thurman, Jr., Isaac Low, Henry White, and John Harris Cruger. The journals of this session of the assembly have been, as has been stated, unfortunately and apparently irrevocably lost; but it appears from a published extract of the votes and proceedings that the house, on the very day of the meeting at the Coffee House, made provision for an equestrian statue of the king, and, on the motion of Mr. Cruger, resolved also on the erection of a statue to William Pitt in brass. The material was later changed, and the fate of the monument has been told. The merchants of London were no less grateful to the great commoner, and a large number of rings set with his head were ordered by them for their friends in America, and a statue of him was set up by the merchants of Cork in their Guildhall. For a while it seemed as though an era of peace and good will had opened. Not even the arrival of the forty-sixth regiment from the north, nor yet the suppression of the "Levelers," a large and riotous body who had created disturbances on the manors of Cortlandt and Livingston, and with whom the Sons of Liberty were supposed to sympathize, had disturbed the quiet of the population, which was now eagerly bent on trade. The very name had dropped out of sight and hearing. Yet trouble was brewing. The assembly had positively refused compliance with the act of parliament relating to the billeting of troops. They confined themselves to their old action of supplying barracks with furniture, etc., for the king's troops marching through the colony. The twenty-sixth, passing through Albany, were refused quarters; the barracks in New York into which the forty-sixth were marched were but bare walls, though later the cor-

Digitized by Google

poration allowed the use of some unexpended money paid by General Amherst.

As the quartering of troops was viewed with jealousy, collisions were inevitable. The first occurred on the evening of July 21, when four officers of the regulars, who had been drinking freely at one of the taverns in the upper end of Broadway, sallied out and began to break the city lamps near the college. One of the tavern-keepers protesting, they pursued him into his house and wounded him with their swords. Proceeding down Broadway, attended by two orderlies, they broke thirty-four lamps. Meeting the watch, a fray ensued, in which some of the watch, who were four in number, were wounded; two of the officers were knocked down, of whom one was secured and lodged in the watch-house. The three who escaped called the sentinels from General Gage's door, and, reinforced by about a dozen soldiers from the fort, armed with muskets and with fixed bayonets, marched toward the City Hall. Meeting the watch on their way, they wounded several, and proceeding to the City Hall where the civil watch was kept, released the prisoner. The next day the officer, who was known, venturing abroad, was arrested, and soon after another. The two were taken before the mayor and aldermen and held to bail in a large sum to appear before the Supreme Court. The penalty for each lamp wilfully broken was twenty pounds. The mayor at this time was John Cruger, the same who received the stamps. General Gage's behavior on the occasion was entirely satisfactory to the authorities and citizens.

DUNMORE.

Mention has been made of the tree of liberty in Boston. The first liberty tree in New York, or liberty pole, as it was later called, was that set up on the north side of the common, opposite the Church Farm, at a point in the City Hall Park between Warren and Cham-

Digitized by Google

bers streets. It was set up and bore the colors on the occasion of the rejoicings on the king's birthday. It is variously described as a tree, pole, mast, or flag-staff. Montresor's journal of August 10 reports the gathering on the common of an assemblage (mob he calls it) of two or three thousand men, chiefly Sons of Liberty, headed by Isaac Sears, to demand an explanation from the officers and soldiers for their cutting down of "a pine post where they daily exercised, called by them the Tree of Liberty." It was cut down on the night of Sunday the 16th. This was the first outrage by the soldiery on what the citizens held to be sacred as an emblem of their principles, and this was the first collision in consequence. The mob used brick-bats, the soldiers defending themselves with their bayonets until they received orders from General Gage, to whom they had sent a messenger. The general's aide-de-camp was attacked on his way to the troops and compelled to draw in his defense. Two or three persons were wounded and several hurt by the soldiers. General Gage declared that if the soldiers were the aggressors they should be punished; if not, they should redress themselves. The governor did not interfere. The offending soldiers, who appear to have been the aggressors, were of the twenty-eighth regiment, then quartered in the barracks. The townspeople held the affray to be a premeditated insult, and were justly uneasy at the presence of such a body of armed men patrolling their streets as though those of a military post or conquered town.

The Sons of Liberty gathered again on the 12th, it would seem by private call or by their own accord, since, as has been shown by Mr. Ray's letter of July from London, they had long before dissolved as an organized body. They determined that they would no longer allow the soldiers to patrol the streets or beat their retreat and tattoo through them. The same day they erected "another high post in lieu of the other, with 'George, Pitt and Liberty,' and hoisted a large ensign thereon." This was the second liberty pole set up in the city of New York, and on the original site. On the 13th the commander-in-chief, General Gage, reviewed the twenty-eighth regiment, apparently on the common, for it is related that the artillery formed the square for the service with fixed bayonets; the people attempting to push through, claiming the ground was theirs. The gulf now widened day by day. The soldiers were daily jeered and threatened. A captain (Heathcote) of the royal artillery, returning from camp to the city in a sedan-chair, was stopped at midnight by an angry party

Digitized by Google

and told that he was mistaken for Major James, whom they would have buried alive. Agreements were made to have no intercourse with the soldiers nor admit them to the inns or private houses. The market-people were requested to sell provisions neither to officers nor soldiers. Increasing in boldness, the more violent proposed to drive the military from the city and break up the garrison. The more conservative of the former members of the patriotic organization seem to have taken no part in these proceedings, though they took no steps to check them.

Meanwhile, by summons from the mayor, all parties concerned in or witnesses to the affray of the 10th appeared before him. Major Brown denied the truth of the affidavits, but it was clearly proved that the soldiers were the aggressors in interfering with the setting up of the second pole. Major Brown gave bail. The military felt the need of further defense, and mounted guns at the entrance to their artillery barracks and on the ramparts of the fort. On the 24th Sir Henry Moore and General Carleton, lieutenant-governor of Canada, sailed for Albany. General Gage remained in the city, but distributed the regulars to their several districts, retaining only eighty artillerymen in New York. Nevertheless, he urged on the engineering surveys of Captain Montresor on the defenses of the city and harbor, under enjoinment of secrecy, and, what is of more significance, ordered the preparation of "a military plan for passing through any country with an army." Montresor had served in America for twelve years, and was an officer of great merit. His journals, recently published by the New York Historical Society, throw light upon the events of this interesting period. The withdrawal of the troops, on the one hand,

J. JOHNSON.

Digitized by Google

and the decision of the court that the writs taken out against Major Brown were not actionable, for a while quieted the dissidents, or at least no outbreaks occurred. But on the night of Tuesday, September 23, the second liberty pole was cut down by persons unknown. The next day a third was erected in its place.

On Monday, September 29, John Cruger, who had held the office of mayor of the city for ten consecutive years, from 1756, with the highest honor and respect, resigned the dignity, and Whitehead Hicks was appointed by the governor in his stead. On October 11, Governor Moore, who with Lady Moore had made a visit to Lake Champlain with Governor Carleton, returned to the city. Immediately on his arrival from Albany, the governor met his council and summoned the general assembly, which had stood prorogued from July 3. They met on November 10, in obedience to the circular letter requiring their attendance; but the session was prorogued to November 15. The governor addressed them in a cordial manner and, without allusion to any past or present grievances, announced the consent of the king to the "striking of Bills of Credit and issuing the same in lieu of money," and asked for an appropriation for the extension of the boundary line between the provinces of New York and Quebec.

Yet between the summons of the governor and their session, still another serious disturbance was made by the soldiers, who, armed with bayonets, entered several houses of ill fame in the Fields, where they complained they had been ill-treated the night before. This was in October; and again, in November, a number of soldiers, said to belong to the forty-sixth regiment, entered the house of a cartman, and, without provocation, cut and slashed him in a cruel manner. A soldier with blood-stained clothes was arrested and confined. In consequence of these troubles the magistrates publicly warned the inhabitants to sell no liquors to any soldier between the setting and rising of the sun, under heavy penalty of both fine and imprisonment.* On the day fixed for the session of the assembly important news arrived from England that William Pitt was made lord privy seal, with the title of Earl of Chatham; and word came also that the general toast in London was: "May the Earl of Chatham retain the integrity of Mr. Pitt." The pulse of New York responded as usual to every touch of English sentiment.

* Not many days later the law was enforced: a tavern-keeper was arrested, and the fine imposed.

Digitized by Google

The assembly, in reply to the governor's speech, sent in an address as cordial as his own, and as careful in the avoidance of any possible subjects of difference or discontent. Yet, only a few evenings later, there was again a serious riot between a party of sailors and a number of soldiers at a public house on the common, when one of the former was seriously, if not mortally injured. Among the changes in the English ministry was the appointment of Lord Shelburne as secretary of the southern department, which included the British-American colonies. On November 18 Governor

HOBOKEN AT THIS PERIOD.

Moore sent in to the general assembly Shelburne's instructions to him of August 9, which contained this significant passage: "I am ordered to signify to you, at the same time, that it is the indispensable duty of his Majesty's Subjects in America to obey the Acts of the Legislature of Great Britain; the King both expects and requires a due and cheerful obedience to the same; and it cannot be doubted that his Majesty's Province of New York, after the lenity so recently extended to America, will not fail duly to carry into execution the Act of Parliament, passed last session, for quartering his Majesty's

Digitized by Google

troops, in the full extent and meaning of the Act, without referring to the usage of other parts of his Majesty's dominions, where the Legislature has thought fit to prescribe different regulations, etc." There was a gleam of consoling hope in the private news that "a plan of Lord Chatham for uniting the colonies with the Mother Country" would certainly be laid before parliament at the next session; but that Americans entirely appreciated the change in his position appears in a warning by Britannicus in the same journal in which this was announced, "that by quitting the House of Commons, Lord Chatham quitted his intrinsic power, and has no more now left than those who possess his Majesty's ear have a mind to give him."

The bombshell thrown in by the menacing instruction of Lord Shelburne came at an unfortunate moment, as a meeting of the merchants had been called at Burn's Long Room in the City Arms, for getting their signature to an important petition, prepared by the principal merchants, representing the grievances of trade of the colony; a meeting of which there appears no later notice. The meeting was called for November 28. The assembly was in no haste to lift the dangerous explosive contained in Shelburne's instruction. They only replied to the governor's address on December 15. In a firm but determined manner they refused to lay upon the colony the expense of quartering the regiments marching through their territory. They pleaded the provisions made at the last session for quartering two battalions and a company of artillery as excessive compared with that made by their neighbors, and as an evidence of their loyalty; but the tone of the address is sufficient indication of their determination not to quarter any considerable force. The word they use, "non-compliance," admits of no two meanings. In answer Governor Moore simply declared his concern, and his intention to submit their sentiments to the secretary of state. The governor then summoned the assembly, who presented themselves with their several acts of the session, and were on December 19 prorogued to March 15, 1767. The bills contain no extra provision beyond the annual limited supply for the usual barracks, voted the preceding session.

The year 1767 opened with great suffering in England from short crops, and a great depression in trade in the colonies. The political situation in New York was peaceful, Sir Henry Moore carefully avoiding all occasion of dissidence; but the people at large were intensely interested in the dispute in the Massachusetts colony between the governor and the legislature. Bernard, the

Digitized by Google

governor, was a man of different temper from Moore, more tenacious of his own as well as of the king's authority. The sympathy with Boston was kept active by the constant exertion of such men as Isaac Sears, who was of New England birth, and the mechanics of the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed belief, who were jealous of church as well as of state authorities.

On Wednesday, March 18, occurred the first anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act. The day was celebrated with enthusiasm. A great number of gentlemen dined at the King's Arms, to which the old keeper, Edward Barden, appears to have returned, Howard having been in possession the year before. The toasts were twenty-three in number, and, with one or two exceptions, in honor of the leading friends of America in parliament. On the night following the dinner there was a general illumination, but the harmony of the occasion was later marred. The liberty pole (the third, which stood on the common and which was inscribed to the king, Pitt, and liberty) was again cut down. The act was attributed to the soldiers. The next day a fourth mast was set up, larger and more substantial, and secured with iron to a considerable height above ground. Attempts were again made to cut it down and to undermine it by digging, but without effect. Three nights later there was an attempt

Wm Smith

to destroy it by gunpowder. The next night (Sunday) a strong watch was set by the citizens in a house near by, probably the King's Arms. A party of soldiers appeared with their coats turned, armed with bayonets and sticks, but without their guns. They were interrogated by the watch, and withdrew. The evening after a party of soldiers passed by the post and fired their muskets, two of the balls lodging in the walls of Barden's tavern. Still another attempt was made, but was frustrated by an officer. The government and city authorities now found it necessary to interfere.

As the spring drew on, the aspect of American affairs in Great Britain grew dark and threatening. Private letters brought advices that the parliament would shortly take measures to enforce the billeting act, and the London merchants, alarmed at the outlook, allowed the packets for America to sail without cargo. It seemed certain that eight or nine regiments, with two detachments of artillery, were ready to embark for New York. The address of the New York assembly was making "a great noise and disturbance throughout the Kingdom," and the petitions of the merchants were coldly received by parliament. The New York assembly, after sundry prorogations, met at the City Hall on Tuesday, May 26. In his address opening the session, Governor Moore laid stress upon the limitations in the provisions for the supply of the king's troops, and recommended a further supply. In reply the house voted the sum of three thousand pounds, five hundred pounds less than that expended the previous year, but without the restrictions of their last supply. The sum voted was that prescribed by the act of parliament. The house adjourned on June 6. The king's birthday was this year celebrated with unusual solemnity. There were a review of the seventeenth and forty-sixth regiments and the artillery detachment by General Gage on the Battery, and a dinner at Fort George, where, at the toasts to his Majesty a royal salute was fired, which was answered with twenty-one guns from the liberty pole, from which the Union Jack was flying. Toward the close of July the proceedings of the House of Commons of May 13 to May 18 reached New York. They were certainly of an alarming nature. Of the 13th, Bancroft says, "A more eventful day for England had not dawned in that century." On that day Townshend brought in his vote to punish the refractory colonies. The doors of the House of Commons were by special order shut against every agent of the colonies and every American merchant. The limitation of the New York assembly to supplies for

Digitized by Google

two regiments only, and those articles provided in other parts of his Majesty's dominions, and their renewed refusal in December, marked that province for special chastisement. Townshend moved that until New York complied with the billeting act her governor should be ordered to assent to no legislation. A board of commissions of the customs was to be stationed in America; a revenue to be raised on direct importations of wine, oil, and fruit from Spain and Portugal; and a duty to be laid on glass, paper, lead, colors, and especially on tea,—this revenue to be placed at the disposal of the king for the payment of the civil list, while governors and chief justices were to have fixed salaries. The friends of America endeavored to have the resolutions recommitted, but they were adopted on the night of the 16th without a division. On this occasion Burke prophesied that Great Britain would "never see a single shilling from America." Both the act of the disfranchisement of New York and that of the duties were agreed to on May 26.

The disfranchisement of New York was of little practical account, the assembly having complied with the requisition of parliament before the passage of the bill. But the purpose, the intention of it alarmed the colonies. It meant coercion. The revenue bill was more immediately mischievous, but the news of its passage was shortly followed by the report that to prevent any further misunderstandings between the mother country and the colonies the expediency of granting the Americans representatives in the British parliament would be considered immediately on the formation of a new administration, which was daily expected. French observers better understood the situation, Choiseul considering that the estrangement would break up the British colonial system. The first symptom of dissatisfaction with the new measures appeared in Boston, where, on October 28, the freeholders, at a great meeting in Faneuil Hall, over which James Otis presided, agreed to prevent the unnecessary importaiton of foreign commodities, especially of the duty-taxed articles, glass and paper, and to encourage American manufactures. The agreement was generally entered into, but the measure of retaliation was mild compared with the action in the stamp act controversy.

The New York assembly met on November 17. The subject-matter of the governor's address was the pending dispute with the Massachusetts Bay colony as to the boundaries of the jurisdiction. The house agreed that unless the dispute were shortly settled in an

Digitized by Google

amicable manner it would petition the king to intervene with a decision. A further supply of fifteen hundred pounds was voted for the king's troops. The assembly adjourned on February 6, 1768. A curious incident in their proceedings was their inquiry into the authorship of a pamphlet entitled "The Conduct of Cadwallader Colden, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of New York, relating to the Judges' commissions, appeals to the King, and Stamp Duty." John Morin Scott, among others, was summoned before them. The pamphlet was a vindication of Colden's action, and was originally published in London, but a few copies being reprinted in New York. It was held to contain reflections on the dignity of the assembly. It had been presented by the grand jury in October as a libelous reflection on the council, the assembly, and the courts of justice in the New York province. Judge Livingston brought the matter before the assembly. No conclusion seems to have been reached until the close of the session, in which time the author had not been discovered. The lieutenant-governor had sulked in his tent ever since the arrival of Governor Moore, attending the meetings of the council-board only once, and not leaving his country seat for the city. He was not idle, however, as is shown by his constant letters to Lord Mansfield, the Earl of Shelburne, the Earl of Halifax, and Lord Grenville, defending himself and abusing his enemies. In his list of enemies he includes the members of the council who were on the joint committee of inquiry—John Watts, Roger Morris and William Smith, Jr. The assembly had finally relented, and ordered the payment of his arrears of salary, but declined to reimburse him for the value of his coach; but he had long before this provided himself with a new post chariot from London. He was greatly pleased with it, and wrote there was not a "handsomer in this place."

The legal limit of the sessions of the assembly (seven years) being reached, it was dissolved by the governor on February 6, 1768, and on the 10th writs were issued for a new election, returnable on March 22, 1768. The polls were opened on Monday, the 6th, and the election was disputed with unexampled ardor until Friday evening, the 10th, when 1929 votes had been cast. The representatives chosen, in the order of the votes received, were Philip Livingston, who led the list with 1320 votes, James Delancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey; John Morin Scott received the highest of the opposition votes, but failed of an election. The election was proclaimed, but the session deferred by prorogation.

Digitized by Google

March 18, the third anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act, was again celebrated with zeal, the principal merchants on this occasion taking an active part. The friends of constitutional liberty and trade met at the tavern opposite the common, kept by Barden, and at Jones's, which are described as "nearly adjoining." Union flags were displayed. Among the toasts were "the spirited Assembly of Virginia in 1765; the spirited Assembly of Boston; may the merchants and tradesmen of this city (New York) ever be firmly united to promote the true interest and prosperity of this Province;" and finally, "Unanimity to the Sons of Liberty in America." The occasion seems to have been one of entire harmony.

FRAUNCES TAVERN.

It would seem, indeed, that the merchants had taken fresh courage, for on April 8, twenty-four gentlemen engaged in foreign commerce met in the Long Room at the Queen's Head, or Fraunces' Tavern, on the corner of Broad and Dock (now Pearl) streets, then temporarily kept by Bolton and Sigell, and there formed themselves into a society which they styled the New York Chamber of Commerce, electing as their officers: John Cruger, president; Hugh Wallace, vice-president; Elias Desbrosses, treasurer. This was the first mercantile society formed in the colonies, and the modest beginning of the important institution which has since maintaineed its organization without break, and to-day has a membership of one thousand of our principal merchants, and the finest gallery of merchant portraits on the American continent.

There still was a feeling of uneasiness at the threatening measures of the ministry, which needed little to stimulate it into expression or activity. This was brought about by the action of the Boston merchants. On March 31, 1769, an anonymous advertisement in

Digitized by Google

Holt's "New York Journal" gave notice that a letter had been received from a committee of Boston merchants to the merchants of New-York, which would be submitted to such as would gather that evening at Bolton and Sigell's (Fraunces') Tavern. A few gentlemen met as requested, but not in sufficient numbers to warrant action, and a second advertisement followed calling a meeting at the same place on the evening of April 7. Meanwhile a strong appeal, signed "A New-Yorker," urged an agreement to prevent the importation of European goods as before. This appeared on April 2, though sent to the journal for publication the week previous. It seems that at this second meeting a committee was appointed to arrange a second "non-importation agreement." This was in the form of a "voluntary engagement to each other that they will not sell on their own account or on commission, nor buy or sell for any person whatsoever, any goods [save a few enumerated articles] which shall be shipped from Great Britain after the first day of October next, until the Act of Parliament imposing duties on paper, glass, etc., be repealed; provided Boston and Philadelphia adopt similar resolutions by the first of June next." The committee of merchants who passed this agreement found hardly an importer who was not willing to subscribe.

From a communication to the journal of April 21, it seems that the merchants of Philadelphia were not in full accord as to the expediency of the plan. While the merchants still hesitated to put the retaliating scheme in operation, the answer of the Earl of Hillsborough, then lately appointed secretary of state for America, to the circular letter of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts colony to the sister colonies, reached the city, dated at Whitehall, April 21. Its contents were known in Boston on June 24. It denounced the Massachusetts document as "of a most dangerous and factious tendency." With the text came rumors that the right of England to tax America was to be determined by the presence of a fleet and army. Some excitement had already occurred in New York by the assumption by General Gage, as commander-in-chief, of precedency over Sir Henry Moore, the chief civil authority, which was, however, instantly decided in favor of the governor by Hillsborough, who declared that "nothing could be more foreign to his Majesty's intentions than the introducing a military government into his provinces in America upon the ruins of the civil power." Nevertheless the crown returned to its former policy, and

Digitized by Google

in June, Hillsborough notified the lords of trade that all of Shelburne's reforms in the business with the colonies were to be abrogated.

The colonies looked upon Hillsborough's April circular as an attempt to suppress all interchange of sentiments between the colonies, and to prevent their united prayers from reaching the king's ears, and they asserted the right of petition to the throne. Colony after colony appointed standing committees to petition the king and to correspond with Massachusetts and Virginia ; and assembly after assembly declined to rescind their resolutions as demanded by Hillsborough, and were prorogued by the governors. The people were moved as one man in resolution never to surrender their inherent rights and privileges. The agreement of non-importation had been very generally signed in New-York. As September 1 approached, a meeting of the merchants and traders was called at Bolton and Sigell's for the evening of August 25, for a further consideration.

The Sons of Liberty had already revived their organization in Boston at a great public meeting held on August 15, the anniversary of the first opposition in that town to the stamp act. They gathered at the liberty tree with music and high ceremony, and it appears from the account of the proceedings that the merchants, with greater unanimity than even in the time of the stamp act, had already agreed to import no duty-goods, with a few exceptions, from January 1, 1769, to January 1, 1770, and called upon the merchants of the other provinces to act with as much patriotic disinterestedness. The merchants of New York answered this summons at once, and engaged to countermand all orders that had gone out to Great Britain since the 16th of the month, and to seize and store all goods that might come in on consignment in contravention of their agreement. Nearly every merchant and trader in the city signed. The tradesmen signed on September 5. The shipping ports in New England quietly followed the example of Boston. Philadelphia was more deliberate. It was not till September 22 that her merchants were summoned to meet at the court-house.

The tension of the situation increased daily. News reaching Boston that an armament was on its way to enforce submission, the selectmen of the town (the assembly being prorogued) notified all the towns of the colony to prepare for the emergency. On the 28th the squadron arrived from Halifax, with two regiments of regulars

Digitized by Google

and artillery. On October 1 the men-of-war threatened the city from off the wharfs, while the soldiers, about seven hundred in number, landed with their equipage and artillery, and marching through the city from the Long Wharf, encamped upon the common. That night they slept in Faneuil Hall, where were lodged the town arms of four hundred muskets. On October 3 the Boston people initiated their agreement to drink no more tea—one of the taxed articles. By the middle of October information came from Boston of the enforcement of the billeting act, Captain Montresor, who had returned from England as chief barrack-master of the ordnance for North America, having quartered the troops on several dwelling-houses as well as warehouses and sugar houses. Governor Bernard having declined to summon the assemly, the province was under military rule. The troops, however, behaved with decency, and their parade on the common was without arms.

On October 27, pursuant to a call from Governor Moore, the New York assembly met at the City Hall. New York city was represented by Philip Livingston, James DeLancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey. Three of these gentlemen were merchants, and had been elected on a straight division as against the lawyers. Philip Livingston was chosen speaker. There was nothing in the address of the assembly, nor in the brief reply of the governor, to attract any comment. The main subject of interest now was the failure of the Philadelphia merchants to adopt the non-importation resolutions; it appearing that their disposition was frustrated by the refusal of a few dry goods houses to join the compact. From Boston also came the news of quarrels in the streets between the soldiers and citizens,* and the reappearance on the scene of the Liberty boys. But notwithstanding this menace, and regardless of the indisposition of their Philadelphia friends, the merchants of New York resolutely clung to their non-importation agreement. To make this resolution perfectly patent to every citizen, a few of the more active spirits took pains to ascertain their intentions by a personal visit to the

* These quarrels would not have occurred so frequently, or perhaps at all, and the "Boston massacre" might have been avoided, if General Gage had been superseded earlier than he was by Major-General Sir Frederick Haldimand, at this time colonel of the Royal American regiment of foot. As will appear later it was his opinion that in the agitations of those times the British soldiers should be sparingly brought to the notice of American colonists, even in the latters support of any scheme against fellow-colonists. It may be of interest to state just here that General Haldimand became Governor of Canada after the Revolution, and that it was at his instance that Haldimand Castle or Chateau was constructed, an object of signal interest to all tourists visiting Quebec. Early in the present year the chateau was demolished, but, to judge from the Canadian journals, the regret which this should have caused is much lessened in the opinion of the people at the prospect "of having in its stead a magnificent first-class hotel."

Digitized by Google

merchants, and this brought out the fact that the true spirit of the agreement had been maintained. These matters, apparently unimportant, will develop their real importance as the struggle goes on; but on this very head the patriots of New York have been often misrepresented.

In November news came from Boston of the arrival of two more regiments, which were quartered on the town, and that in the spring they would be distributed over the New England seaports; but simultaneously advices from England reported probable changes in the cabinet, and a more satisfactory disposition of the troops in America, by their withdrawal from the more settled sections. On Monday, the 14th, the Sons of Liberty in New York paraded the streets, with effigies of Bernard, the obnoxious governor of Massachusetts, and Greenleaf, the sheriff of Boston, and, after publicly exposing them in front of the Merchants' Coffee House, burned them there, with the applause of the spectators, and then quietly dispersed to their homes. Their intention being noised about during the day, troops appeared in arms about four o'clock in the afternoon, and patrolled the streets. Their purpose of intimidation failed, however, and no collision occurred. The magistrates had notice of the affair, and sent out the constables from the City Hall to prevent it, but, either by intention or deceived by the officers, they did not reach the scene till it was over; which seems strange, as the Coffee House corner was in full view from the City Hall. A lime-tree in the street in front of the Coffee House was the scene of the burning, and a constant place of rendezvous.

Alarmed no doubt, at this repetition of the disorder of 1765, a great public meeting of the freeholders and freemen was called for Thursday, November 24, when instructions to the city members of the general assembly were adopted and signed by a large number of respectable citizens. These instructions called for a reading in the assembly of the Boston letter which had fallen under the censure of Lord Hillsborough, whose circular forbade an answer to that letter by the sister colonies—the letter, it will be remembered, inviting united measures to obtain redress of grievances.

The newspapers contain no information as to whether these resolutions were or were not presented. There is little doubt that they were. Meanwhile the governor sent in a special message to the assembly on the subject of the effigy-burning and danger of a riot, and was answered that the disorders were not approved by the in-

Digitized by Google

habitants nor by themselves, and that provision would be made for the money reward offered in his proclamation. An interesting incident in the history of this assembly was the charge of corruption brought by John Morin Scott, a defeated candidate, against James Jauncey. The assembly decided, by a vote of eighteen to three, that the charge was not proved, but by a similar majority refused to declare that it was frivolous, vexatious, and litigious. An act to prevent corruption in elections was, however, framed a few days later

That the instructions of the meeting of freeholders were not disregarded, appears by the spirited resolutions unanimously adopted by the assembly, in committee of the whole, on December 31, 1768, in which they declared their belief in "an exact equality of rights among all his Majesty's subjects in the several parts of the empire; the right of petition, that of an internal legislature, and the undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies, or with any other of his Majesty's subjects outside of this colony, whenever they conceived the rights, liberties, interests or privileges of this house or its constituents to be affected," and they raised a Committee of Correspondence in accordance with this rightful demand. De Lancey endeavored to defeat the declaration of the right to correspond, by a general condemnation of the act of parliament suspending the legislature, but he only had the support of his kinsmen, the Jaunceys and Walton, and three others of the representatives. Inclined, as Governor Moore was to a peaceful attitude, the boldness of these resolutions was more than he could bear. On January 2, 1769, he summoned the assembly and plainly told the representatives that their resolve had put it out of his power to continue it any longer. He expressed the kindest wishes, and formally dissolved the assembly.

Digitized by Google

THE THIRD SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

Quebec, the historic, has been the scene of more protracted and fierce struggles than any other fortified position on this continent. Phipps, with his ill-supplied fleet, manned by fishermen and farmers, had vainly spent his iron hail against its gigantic cliffs. Wolfe with indomitable energy and heroic perseverance was almost turning away from its gates disheartened, when fortune favored him, and the old city fell into British hands. Sixteen years after his death on the Plains of Abraham, Washington began to realize the necessity of having the entire continent under the control of the "Continental" troops. He turned his eyes towards Quebec, and determined to send a strong body of troops through the wilderness, to win this key to the northern part of the American continent.

Colonel Benedict Arnold was chosen as commander of the expedition, and under him was as hardy a band of soldiers as ever endured a severe march or a deadly battle. There were eleven hundred men in all, and most of them were the crack shots of every state from Virginia to Maine. However, the largest portion of the troops came from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. It was decided to invade Canada by way of the Kennebec river, Dead river, and the Chaudière. On reaching Quebec they were to form a junction with the troops of the heroic general Montgomery. As the British were unprepared for such a strong attack, the continentals expected that Quebec would fall an easy prey.

That this expedition was entered on from the highest motives, and in the true spirit of liberty, can be gathered from the characteristic instructions given to Arnold by General Washington. As they breathe the spirit of the man and his cause, it will, perhaps, be best to let them speak for themselves.

"I charge you, therefore, and the officers and soldiers under your command, as you value your own safety and honor, and the favor and esteem of your country, that you consider yourselves as marching, not through an enemy's country, but that of our friends and brethren—for such the inhabitants of Canada and the Indian Nations have approved themselves in this unhappy contest between Great Britain and America. * * * * * * I also give it in charge to you to avoid all disrespect or contempt of the religion of

Digitized by Google

the country; and if common prudence, policy, and a true Christian spirit will lead us to look with compassion upon their errors without insulting them, while we are contending for our own liberty, we should be very cautious of violating the rules of conscience in others, ever considering that God alone is the judge of the heart of man, and to Him only in this case they are answerable."

Such were the instructions given to Arnold by Washington, and he was not alone in his attitude. The various accounts of the expedition that have come down to us,—such as those by Major Meigs and John Joseph Henry,—are overflowing with the same spirit.

The army enrolled, instructions given, the resolute soldiers made ready for their tedious and trying march. Nearly all were tried woodsmen, hardened by toil and exposure, and ready for any danger. Their commander, Arnold, was trusted and loved by all. He was a noble specimen of humanity, of fine appearance, compactly made, with muscles of steel, and a lion heart. It is painful to be compelled to have in mind the sordid avarice that made this man a traitor to the cause of liberty, and forced his fellow soldiers to hold his name accursed among men.

The arms of all the soldiers were very much alike, and well adapted to forest warfare. They consisted of a rifle-barrelled gun, a tomahawk, or small axe, and a long knife. The under dress "by no means in a military style, was covered by a deep ash-colored hunting shirt, leggins and moccasins, if the latter could be procured."

This army marched from Prospect Hill, near Cambridge, on the 11th September. On the following day they reached Newburyport, and after encamping for five or six days, embarked on ten transports, and with a fair wind sailed to the mouth of the Kennebec river. Here they obtained bateaux, and a march unprecedented in the history of war on this continent really began.

The course was only conjecturally known, and it was found necessary to send a small party ahead to ascertain the carrying places, and to map out the course generally for the troops. Jeremiah Getchel and John Horne, the first particularly, acted as guides, and not, as Lemoine suggests, the Abenaqui Natanis and his brother Sabathis.

The small band of explorers had a very rough experience. Their birch canoes were battered and torn by the rocks and "snags" of the unknown streams, and but for the ingenuity of Getchel not one

Digitized by Google

of them would have returned to their comrades. As it was, they all but starved to death in the wilderness, for after completing the task they had been sent out to perform—namely, to discover the Chaudière river,—their food failed them, and despite the fact that they shot several moose, the tale of their sufferings is heart harrowing. Without salt or bread of any sort, the venison nauseated them, and they were on the verge of death, when, on the 17th October, they came upon a party of pioneers erecting a causeway for the passage of the army.

The march to the north was now began in earnest. The advance party were able to act as guides, and no time was lost in speeding up the Dead river. Late as it was in the season, and swollen as the rivers were, the hardy soldiers seemed to mind the journey but little, and laughed and joked as merrily as they had done at the start. Numerous dangers and hairbreadth escapes were encountered, and many proved themselves heroes in this trying time. The eccentric Simpson, with his cheering song "Plato," Humphrey, Morgan, Febiger, Aaron Burr, Dearborn, time and again risked life and limb in hours of peril.

At last the carrying place between Dead river and the Chaudière was reached, and without delay the boats were carried over the high hills separating the two streams. This arduous task accomplished, the weary army rested a breathing space on the banks of the turbulent Chaudière.

News was spread among the soldiers that Colonel Enos had beaten a retreat, taking with him a large stock of provisions, the medicine chest, and five hundred men. This dismayed many, and not a few were for returning without striking a blow at Canada, but the dauntless Arnold determined, even with his reduced force and scanty supplies, to hurry on to the difficult goal a little over a hundred miles away.

Without meat of any kind, and with but five pints of flour per man, the troops set forward. The journey was a rough one, a perilous one, but it might have seemed light had they but had proper food. Many died of starvation and exposure, and not a few perished when they reached the settled districts by surfeiting themselves with food. All were reduced to the most pitiable straits for nourishment, and several Newfoundland dogs they had with them were slaughtered and devoured. An extract from Henry's journal will perhaps give an adequate idea of their terrible sufferings.

Digitized by Google

"They washed their moccasins of moose skin, in the first place, scraping away the dirt and sand, with great care. These were brought to the kettle and boiled a considerable time, under the vague but consolatory hope that a mucilage would take place. The boiling over, the poor fellows chewed the leather, but it was leather still; not to be macerated. My teeth, though young and good, succeeded no better. Disconsolate and weary, we passed the night."

On November 4th, the troops reached the first house in Canada, and were enabled to satisfy their terrible hunger. Some recklessly gorged themselves, and left their bones to bleach on the line of the march. The *habitants* received the soldiers kindly, but showed no disposition to join them in their attack on the citadel of Quebec; but that they were not averse to the expedition can be seen by the ready way they helped them on their march, supplying food, and caring for the sick stragglers who fell out of the ranks.

Point Levis was reached about November 12th, and the troops were discovered by the Hunter sloop-of-war, which pelted them vigorously with ball and grapeshot.

Now that the citizens of Quebec were aware of the invaders' presence, Arnold determined to cross the St. Lawrence at dead of night. At eleven o'clock, on the night of November 13th, the troops were assembled on the shore, and hurriedly embarked in twenty-five canoes. The canoes were carefully steered towards the dark, overhanging cliffs above the city, made so famous by the ascent of General Wolfe. The pass was not as difficult as in Wolfe's time, and the troops on their arrival found it no hard task to clamber up the heights to the historic Plains of Abraham.

The proper engines for storming the city were absent, and as winter had set in with great severity, Arnold gave his men a short rest before beginning the storming of the city. Repeated attacks were made on the St. John's Gate, but all efforts to bring Quebec to capitulation were vain. The citizens indeed, only laughed Arnold to scorn, hurling at him the opprobrious epithet "horse-jockey," a name he had earned by trading with them in horses in former years.

After a few days of vain effort, the waste of a good deal of powder, and the loss of several such noble fellows as Robert Dixon, the American commander beat a retreat to Point aux Trembles, there to await the arrival of General Montgomery, who was to take charge of the siege of Quebec.

Digitized by Google

All this time Governor Guy Carleton was in Montreal. Mindful of his rocky fortress, at news of the threatened invasion, he sent orders to James Thompson, the assistant engineer, to put the fortifications into a state of defence without delay. Thompson energetically went to work, assisted at first by a band of Canadian carpenters, and afterwards by a company of artificers from Halifax, and soon had Palace Gate in a state of defence. He then turned his attention to other weak parts of the city, and with skill and despatch fortified both Upper and Lower Town, repairing embrasures, building platforms, shutting up the windows on the river side, leaving only loopholes for musketry.

For all this Quebec was in a state of excited alarm. The city had in all only eighteen hundred men bearing arms, and the French Canadians within the walls could not be depended upon. There was no controlling spirit present, no man that could sway all minds and weld both the English and French elements into one harmonious resisting force. But one ma ncould do this—Guy Carleton. When news was brought that Montreal had capitulated on the 12th of November all eyes turned up the St. Lawrence with eager expectation.

The Governor was no less eager to be in Quebec than the citizens were for his presence, and under the guidance of Captain Bouchette, he set out for his capital in an open boat. The Americans had possession of the St. Lawrence, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the frail skiff succeeded in passing their lines. Once, indeed, at the narrows of Berthier they had to pass within sight of the sentinels, whose "All's well" time and again echoed across their drifting boat. Here even muffled paddles had to be dispensed with, and for nine miles only the hands were used to propel the venturous party.

When near Three Rivers they learned that the enemy had not yet occupied this place and determined to rest there for a few hours. Carleton, falling asleep from exhaustion, had a rude awakening by hearing the clang of arms and the voices of American soldiers in the room adjoining the one he occupied. But Captain Bouchette came to the rescue, and successfully led him and his party through the soldiers and to the boat without having their disguises penetrated. The dangerous shore was hurriedly left, and before long they were at the foot of the Richelieu Rapid. Here the armed brig "Fell" was anchored. Governor Carleton boarded this vessel, and without delay the sails were spread. With a favoring wind they

Digitized by Google

sped down the St. Lawrence to the rocky fortress, getting a passing glimpse of Arnold's troops in retreat. The sight of the "Fell" brought joy to the citizens of Quebec, and as the Governor landed, the cannon sent forth a mighty roar of rejoicing that sounded with ominous threat to the Continental soldiers. Cheer after cheer went up, recalling the days when Frontenac hurried over the same route to do the same work against Phipps, that Carleton was to do against the Continentals. With his wonted energy he hurriedly, but carefully, examined the defences; increased guards, had any weaknesses he found strengthened, and with soldierly patience determined to await the coming of Montgomery. He felt safe within the walled city, and would not make the mistake of going out to do battle with the enemy, a mistake that had cost the French their last foothold on this continent.

Arnold, while awaiting the arrival of Montgomery, endeavored to win over to himself the hearts of the Canadians. He likewise posted sentries on all the roads, so that all supplies might be cut off from the city. This last step was of but little service, as there was within the walls an excellent supply of food for an eight months' siege, and by that time relief would have come from the old world.

Montgomery arrived at Arnold's camp on December 1st, and his tall, handsome figure, and fine, though pock-marked face, at once won Arnold's men. He made them a stirring, energetic speech, and the fire that had made him in two short months win Fort St. John, Fort Chambly, Montreal and Three Rivers, entered the men, and made their drooping spirits confident, despite the telling severity of the northern climate.

The season was getting more rigorous every day, and so Montgomery determined to lose no time, but to endeavor to add another victory to his long series. On the day after his arrival the troops were marched back to the rocky citadel where they took up quarters and awaited a favorable opportunity to take it by surprise.

This was not so easy. Both English and French were watchful, and the fact that the *habitants* did not take up arms against Britain greatly disheartened Montgomery. He had relied on this more, perhaps, than on anything else, for a speedy victory. But the Frenchman's lot under British rule had been so much easier than under Bigot and the "Grand Company," that, although he did not love the British he had no just cause to make battle against English rule. Besides, in the Canadian there was a rooted objection to the

Digitized by Google

"Bostonnais." "Notre Dame des Victoires" was a standing monument to the hatred between the Englishmen of New England and the French, and he could hardly see why he should join a people always hated, to fight against one whom he found a kind master. However, those out of the city remained neutral, and not a few within, perhaps thinking that a house divided against itself would fall, were ready to help the invaders, and looked eagerly for the time when New France would once more be a flourishing colony under the fleur-de-lys.

Montgomery met with no resistance from the *habitants*, however and soon had possession of Levis, Sillery, Ste. Foye, Loretto, Charlesbourg, the Island of Orleans, and Beauport. In fact, every foot of ground about Quebec had waving exultingly over it the red and black flag of the Continental army.

Efforts were made to storm the town, but the deep snow and hard frost prevented any very strenuous work. A battery was formed, but had hardly fired a shot before the platform on which it was erected was dashed to pieces by the heavy guns of the city. Riflemen, too, of unerring aim, watched every loophole for a chance to pick off a foe. Some climbed to the cupola of the historic palace of the Intendant Bigot, and did effective work; but Carleton had his guns directed towards this building, and of its fine and costly architecture soon only the foundations and shot-shattered walls were left standing.

On the night of the 20th or 21st of December, a fierce snowstorm swept down from the north, and to the surprise of the soldiers, they were called out to advance on the fortress. The marshalling took place, and just as all were ready to rush on the weak points in the city walls the moon swept from behind a cloud, the snowstorm passed away to the south, and Montgomery was compelled to order his men back to their quarters.

This movement, however, gave the men to understand that the city was to be stormed, and that they might expect to be called out at any moment when the weather would help them in their work. It was unfortunate for the Continentals that this report was spread abroad, for before long it was known in the city, and whenever a storm threatened, Carleton made special preparations to resist the vigilant foe.

The weather seemed to be against the Continentals, for day after day passed over without promise of storm. At last, however,

Digitized by Google

on the night of the 30th December, dark leaden clouds crept out of the north, and Montgomery gave orders to his men to hold themselves in readiness, and all went to rest expecting a call at any moment. They hoped for it, for this weary fighting in the deep snow and the biting frost was beginning to tell on even their iron nerves; and they were not to be disappointed.

The ominous weather was no less welcome to the British than to the Continentals. Aware, as they were, that an attack was to be made, and that it was to be at a time when the elements might favor a bold attempt, they were in a constant state of suspense. The Governor, and his officers who were not on duty at the barriers, or in the citadel, had taken up their quarters in the Recollet Convent, and, so as not to be taken by surprise, slept on their arms. On the night before the attack the guards were warned to be doubly watchful, and to sound a full alarm at the slightest sign of danger.

At two in the morning Montgomery had his men roused, and drawn up to receive orders. They were a gallant band of tried heroes, and as they stood with flushed faces in the storm that was beating down from the north-east with biting fury, they seemed fully capable of performing the Herculean task they had undertaken—the capture of Quebec.

Orders were soon given, and at five in the morning the trial was to be made. Colonel Livingston, with a regiment of mercenary Canadians, and Major Brown with part of a regiment from Boston, were ordered to make a false attack upon the walls to the southward of St. John's Gate, and if possible to fire the Gate; General Montgomery with a strong force took upon himself the arduous task of winding round the base of the cliff, and winning his way to the lower town by this perilous route; while to Arnold he allotted the heavy duty of marching round by way of St. Charles street into Sault-aux-Matelots street, and there storming the two strong barriers that protected that part of the city.

At five o'clock the attack commenced. Livingston, due to a variety of circumstances, could not carry out his part of the programme. The depth of the snow has been pleaded as an excuse, but as Henry speaks of those under his command as "the dastardly persons employed to make the false attack," it can easily be imagined that the Canadians were not faithful allies in this civil war, even when under hire.

Digitized by Google

General Montgomery carefully and noiselessly skirted the height until he reached the pickets of Cape Diamond. This place, called Pres-de-ville, was one easily guarded, and if manned by men of the right stamp, a second Thermopylæ. Overhead frowned the snow-clad cliffs, and a precipice fell sheer to the river below. The British anticipated attack from this side, and had guarded it with a battery of three-pounders. Although the guard placed over this pass were less than fifty men, they could easily keep ten thousand at bay. General Montgomery had the pickets stopping the approach cut away, and he, his aid-de-camp, Mr. Macpherson, Captain Cheesman and several others entered the pass. The guard-house seemed silent and deserted. No light gave evidence of life, and with reckless courage the leaders advanced. This was what the British expected, or rather hoped for, and just as Montgomery was beckoning to his men to follow, Captain Barnsfare, in command of the guns, gave the order to fire, and Sergeant Hugh McQuarters with the guns, and the soldiers and marines with their muskets, swept the snow-clouded pass with a leaden hail. It was a destructive fire. Every man within sight plunged and fell, dead or dying, in the heartless storm. Montgomery fell, like a hero, with his wounds in front. No less than three grape-shot wounds laid him low—one in his chin, one in his groin, and one through his thigh. His followers made no effort to recover the body of their leader, but under the command of Colonel Campbell beat a hasty retreat. They could hardly have done otherwise. For ten minutes the muskets of the guard rang out, sweeping the path, so that it would have been death for any soldier to have ventured within range. So ended the attack from this side of the city.

The inhabitants were now awake. The sound of firing had roused the citizens, and amid the clanging of bells, and the roar of guns, all were hastening to the walls to see if it were true that the "Bostonnais" had gained an entrance to the Lower Town.

On the other side of the city Arnold and his troops were struggling forward to form a union with Montgomery, should he be successful in his attack. Arnold's men advanced about a hundred yards before the main body, Lamb's artillerists, Morgan's, Smith's, and Hendricks' companies following. The snow had piled to an astounding depth, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the determined fellows ploughed their way through it. With bent heads and muffled throats they struggled on, hoping that the first barrier

Digitized by Google

might be reached before their approach was known to the city; but the sudden clanging of the alarm bells, the roar of the cannon, and the bullets whizzing about their heads, told them that their task was going to be no light one. The sharpshooters on the height took every opportunity to pick them off, and even though they advanced in extended order, and took advantage of every available shelter, not a few fell with death wounds and were instantaneously covered as with a winding sheet by the cruel snow. This fire was particularly trying to the men, as the foe was behind impenetrable walls,—their locality only marked by the blaze of their death dealing rifles.

There was nothing to do but press on to the barrier. Arnold soon reached this, and in dashing upon it received a wound in the leg, that compelled him to retire from action. This loss for a moment disheartened his men, but they were in fighting humor, and readily responded to the commands of their daring captains. The contest at this barrier lasted but a few minutes. The British discharged their guns point blank at the advancing force, and while they were about to reload some of the hardy and agile troops leaped through the embrasures, and captured the guard of thirty men. Flushed with victory they advanced to the second barrier, and here the real fighting of the siege took place.

The barrier was a staunch one, and behind it was a platform erected in such a manner as to sweep the street beyond the barrier with grape-shot. The lane was narrow, and every shot fired with care had fatal effect. Attack after attack was made without result. At last the soldiers turned their attention to the platform, and soon the skill of their sharpshooters silenced the guns that had already made sad havoc in their ranks. The heroic Humphreys had a mound erected, and attempted to scale the barrier, but the hot fire and the serried lines of bayonets that awaited him and his men compelled a retreat. Again they attempted to scale the obstruction by placing ladders against it, but a wiry and muscular Canadian named Charland succeeded in pulling the ladders within the barrier. The muskets continued to make such havoc among the besiegers that at last they deemed it prudent to take to the houses and from the windows to keep up a telling fire on the besieged. This kind of warfare was maintained till such noble fellows as Hendricks and Humphreys met soldiers' deaths, and many others, both of the rank and file, were killed or wounded.

Digitized by Google

It was vain to continue the fight. The barrier could not be won, and after two hours of deadly struggle a retreat was ordered. But Guy Carleton had anticipated this, and sent Captain Laws out at Palace Gate with two hundred men to intercept the retreating troops, and many Continentals were thus taken prisoners. More would have been captured, but the hardy soldiers risked flight across the uncertain bay of St. Charles before Captain Laws came up.

So ended the struggle, for, although the enemy continued the blockade till the 6th of May, Quebec was never again in danger of assault.

After the battle, Guy Carleton, like the noble-hearted soldier he was, saw to the burial of his dead enemies, bestowing particular honors on the heroic Montgomery. The prisoners, of course, had to be carefully guarded,—but never were prisoners more humanely treated than were the men taken at this time.

The whole war had been a mistake. Canada was in no way prepared for disruption from the Empire, and even had she been, it was foolhardy to attempt with a handful of men to storm a citadel so easily defended as the rocky fortress that guards the grandest river on this continent.

T. G. MARQUIS.

Digitized by Google

LAFITTE: "THE PIRATE OF THE GULF."

A DISSENT FROM THE HISTORICAL APOLOGISTS.

The two southwestern "Gulf States," Louisiana and Texas, have been the scene of a peculiar social development, which is doubly astonishing in that it has been enacted openly before the world in the nineteenth century. But in all the rude history of this region nothing—not even Burr's treasonable scheme of empire, nor the sensational careers of the Texas filibusters and freebooters who began as desperadoes and ended as national patriots, heroes and martyrs, for having fought savagely through the war they had stirred up—surpasses the operations of the notorious Jean Lafitte and his brothers and associates, who violated with impunity almost every canon of civilized society.

Such plain speech will no doubt grate harshly upon ears accustomed to the soft euphemisms of the historians on this subject of the past forty years; for these have whittled down the crimes of the outlaws to the mere irregularities of "merchant smugglers," or the deeds of "a practical free trader on a large scale"—the sober verdicts of two of the more recent apologists. This last phrase is from the pen of Mr. Mitchell,[1] one of the ablest editors of the *New York Sun*, who seems to have taken his cue direct from Mr. Gayarré, from whom we quote the first expression,[2] while the latter is in turn anticipated nearly thirty years in his view of the case by the editor of the *New Orleans Delta*, from whose dictum few since have ventured to dissent.

Mr. Mitchell probably would not claim that his effort is more than a mere compilation. But Mr. Gayarré, while he has followed the beaten path of his predecessor in the kind of testimony he will admit and in his conclusions, has yet evidently thrashed out anew for himself the old straw of local documents to which the *Delta* editor confined himself. Yet this succession of opinion, from first to last, is maintained with such an air of authority, although based upon only a fraction of the testimony extant, that it is surely time for

1. Article, "A Romance of American History." By E. P. Mitchell. Nearly six columns in *New York Sunday Sun*, June 25, 1893, p. 1.

2. "Historical Sketch of Pierre and Jean Lafitte, the Famous Smugglers of Louisiana, 1809–1814." By Charles Gayarré. Two papers in the *Magazine of American History*, October and November, 1883 (vol. x., pp. 284 and 359).

Digitized by Google

some one to offer a mild protest. In the following paper a brief attempt will be made to investigate the causes of this false judgment, after which the other side of the case may be glanced at—although it is believed the prophets of the one-sided view can be convicted even by their own unguarded admissions.

It is conceded on all hands at the outset that the authors of sensational novels and the penny-a-liners who reeled off pirate histories in the early part of the century, took the usual liberties with the Lafittes. Yet the ultra conservatives always usher in their peculiar view with emphatic reference to the romancers, adding that they themselves must perform the melancholy duty of shattering all these fine stories; and having thus undertaken the painful task, they set aside with the romance a great deal of authentic history (because it chances to be sensational), and thus transform a crew of scoundrels as desperate as ever flourished, into gentlemanly smugglers who have been forced into irregularities by the enactment of revenue laws, but who deeply regret the necessity, and eventually develop into brave and self-sacrificing patriots. Thus, after inveighing against the immorality of the romancers who have thrown a glamour of thrilling interest over the deeds of the outlaws, the other writers arrive at a similar result of palliation by a seeming historical route. Let us see whether this be overstated.

During the quarter of a century succeeding 1826—the date of Jean Lafitte's death—at least one or two persons had been prosecuting systematic investigations of his career. One purporting to be such, but evidently far from complete and imperfectly digested, appeared in *De Bow's Review* in 1851.[3] The result was to precipitate the publication of the researches, or views, of a host of others, more or less incomplete, and prosecuted from different standpoints and among diverse sources of information. Thus controversy arose, contradictions multiplied, and confusion grew apace. This was a most excellent method of placing all the witnesses on record for the future historian; but with each speculator insisting upon his own peculiar tenets, it did not lend itself to an immediate settlement of the question. Nevertheless, the views of the editor of the *New Orleans Delta* gained the ascendency for the time being, and in the main have prevailed ever since, even with those writers who are credited with independent investigation, and in spite of the fact that, critically examined, these views are manifestly untenable and

3. *De Bow's Commercial Review.* Article, "Life and Times of Lafitte." Vol. ix., New Orleans, 1851.

Digitized by Google

even self-contradictory. We will revert to this a little further on. The anonymous article in *De Bow's* was thus accredited by the editor of the periodical:

> The author of this biographical sketch of Lafitte, the "Corsair of the Gulf," assures us in a letter that it is "compiled from various sources—from individuals who have known and served under him, from an old number of the *Galveston Civilian*, from a note to Byron's Corsair, Frost's History, from public documents, letters, proclamations, and the most generally received accounts of his life and exploits in the books of pirates."[4]

It is admitted at once that some of these sources of information, notably the last mentioned, were better unstated, for the reputation of the article. Yet the simplicity of the author's statement merely shows that he ransacked every available source, high or low, authoritative or doubtful, which he could find. Doubtless, had he suspected the battle of words awaiting his modest effort, and the abuse hanging over the devoted heads of the poets and scribblers of buccaneer tales, he would discreetly have omitted all reference to Byron and the "generally received" accounts in the books of pirates. And yet who would claim to have made an exhaustive study of this subject without a glance at these sources, wretched and worthless though they be?

As a matter of fact, in the light of our present knowledge, it is quite evident that this much abused writer gives more real history than is to be found in the "authentic" accounts of any of his detractors since; showing that in spite of his pirate books he either made a more exhaustive research among reliable authorities, or used what he found more judiciously, than any one in the successional line of historical agnostics since. It is, no doubt, true that after exhausting the documentary evidences he filled in what was lacking, and especially as to Jean Lafitte's early life, from what seemed to him most probable in the versions of doubtful authorities. But who since has come to much better conclusions on these contested points? Moreover, of the after history of Lafitte he gives an account substantially correct (with the exception of a florid death scene which certainly seems to savor of the books of pirates), but concerning which the agnostics profess utter ignorance in the face of the clearest documentary evidence for the most part![5]

4. Ibid.

5 It should be added that the author of this anonymous article was still further abused, when in answer to the demand for his name in the controversy, the editor of *De Bow's* announced him as George A. Pierce, of Louisiana, who had died since the paper was written. While there was no improbability in this statement it opened a door of suspicion to those who were searching for one. But whether really written by the editor, or by some friend, the question remains—does it deal in facts or fictions, and in what proportion?

Digitized by Google

How shall we account for this? For, of course, we are far from attempting to impeach the sincerity or historical honesty of any one in these strictures. Very readily, we believe. In the first place the local morals in New Orleans on the revenue question at the time were quite loose, and not merely did many of the chief merchants become *particeps criminis* with the Lafittes as receivers of smuggled (not to say stolen) goods, but the entire city, after a fashion, assumed the same responsibility through its indifference and connivance. And while the local historian might view with complacency a slight tendency to evade the revenue, he would naturally shrink from countenancing, from purely mercenary motives, a nest of cut-throats.

But even this may be only secondary to the strange fact that New Orleans soon came to be regarded as the centre and circumference of all authentic knowledge of the outlaws. It was admitted that their operations in New Orleans occurred in a brief period of four or five years at most, and that there was little local evidence as to the earlier and later careers. But instead of contenting themselves with sifting the truth for the short period concerning which they had reliable data, these local writers, and those who have followed them, have gone on to assume that because they knew no more, any one who made the pretension must be an imposter. And they have pursued this course in spite of the existence of documentary evidences touching Lafitte's later years which are certainly as authentic as any which have been produced for the earlier period in New Orleans. Have they been ignorant of these sources, or ignored them?

The article of the editor of the *New Orleans Delta*, who promulgated this narrow view, appeared in 1855, first in his own journal and afterwards in the pages of *De Bow's Commercial Review*.[6] The editor of the latter periodical thus introduces the republication:

> Several years ago we became involved in a discussion relative to the character and deeds of Lafitte, a name so often referred to in the chronicles of the Southwest. One of the editors of the *New Orleans Delta* was the leading party in the discussion, and he has lately gone over the whole field of Lafitte's life and times in one of the numbers of that paper. The subject is one of such wide interest that we transfer with pleasure the entire chapter to our pages.

The *Delta* editor, like most of his successors, first carefully erects the straw man he proposes to demolish, alluding to "the dread cor-

6. Vol. xix., p. 145. Article: "Lafitte, 'The Pirate'—Early Times in the Southwest."

Digitized by Google

sair of the Gulf, whom the genius of Byron and of many succeeding poets and novelists has consecrated as one who

> "Left a corsair's name to other times,
> Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes;"

and then proceeds to the work of annihilation: "Such is poetry—such is romance. But authentic history . . . dissipates all these fine flights of the poet and romancer." The two brothers, Jean and Pierre Lafitte, he states, originated in or near Bordeaux, France; found their way to New Orleans; and there established themselves as proprietors of an ordinary, every-day blacksmith shop. He asserts that Jean, the famous pirate chief, "knew not enough of the art of navigation to manage a jolly boat;" but presently engaged in smuggling and soon gained the leadership of a crowd of sea-faring roughs who followed this calling, and were established on the secluded island of Barataria (formerly called Grand Terre), some miles west of the mouth of the Mississippi River. The account of his career in this capacity, the legal measures taken against him, and his so-called patriotism, is given by our author from official documents and other authentic data, and is undoubtedly correct so far as these sources go. The same evidences are presented by later historians, and we will reserve their presentation to one of these.

The defense of the Lafittes is now undertaken by the *Delta* editor. He admits that they were indicted for "piracy and smuggling" by the New Orleans grand jury, but declares that "piracy" was not proved at the trial. After stating that the outlaws purchased the services of two of the most famous lawyers of Louisiana by fees of $20,000 each; that the public sentiment of the city connived at their notorious performances; that the members of the State legislature, when appealed to by the governor, refused to take action against the outlaws through fear of offending their constituents; and that the grand jury had brought presentments only when pushed to it to save the reputation of the community abroad, our author would have us believe that this farcical trial clears the outlaws absolutely from the charge of piracy from any quarter. Nay, more, in spite of the unhealthy condition of public sentiment, he argues that the jurymen exaggerated the offense instead of softening it, concluding that "the word 'piracy' as used by the grand jury was intended to include the more common offences of fitting out privateers." Such use of language is certainly not justifiable; for,

Digitized by Google

as his context shows, in employing the sly phrase, "intended to *include* the more common offences," he is insinuating that piracy was not meant at all.

It is still more astonishing that he furnishes his own refutation, giving a plain proof of the true animus of the grand jury in a quotation from their presentment, in which they "deem it a duty incumbent upon them, by this public presentation . . . and by their *pointed disapprobation* (!) of every individual who may be concerned . . . to remove the stain that has fallen *on all classes of society* in the minds of the good people of our sister states."

Such an extraordinary presentment needs little comment. It is almost an apology to the outlaws. Would such men make out the pirates or their citizen accessories to be worse than they were openly known to be? Did they not discreetly state that they expected their "public presentation" and "pointed disapprobation" to "remove the stain?"

Our author admits that on another occasion some of the Barataria colony were indicted for piracy on specific charges, and one of the brothers Lafitte, with them, "as an aider and abettor in these crimes." Yet he adds this astonishing defense:

> The charge of piracy against Lafitte, or even against the men of the association of which he was chief, remains to this day unsupported by a single particle of direct and positive testimony. All that was ever adduced against them of a circumstantial or inferential character was a discovery among the goods taken at Barataria of some jewelry, which was identified as that of a Creole lady who had sailed from New Orleans seven years before, and was never heard of afterwards!

Yet a little point like this is easily explained, as the *Delta* editor proceeds to demonstrate, by the frank admission that it is not at all improbable "that among so many desperate characters . . . there were not a few who would, if the temptation were presented, 'scuttle a ship or cut a throat' to advance their ends, increase their gains or gratify a natural blood-thirstiness."

Even the well known historian, Benson J. Lossing, was careless enough to accept this version; although his brief references to Jean Lafitte indicate that he himself undertook no exhaustive research, but fell in with the successional line of faith. In a paper published in 1865,[7] after remarking in the usual style that "Lafitte became known in history, romance and song, as the 'Pirate of the Gulf,'"

7. Article, "Defense of New Orleans." One of a series on Louisiana. *Harper's Monthly*, January, 1865. Vol. xxx., p. 168.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Lossing declares, briefly, but most erroneously, we fear: "He was not a corsair in the meaning of the law of nations, and his crimes such as they were, were not against humanity, but were violations of the revenue and neutrality laws of the United States." And, strange to say, as the only evidence in support of this view, Mr. Lossing places Lafitte himself on the stand, a solitary witness, and quotes from the outlaw's plea for amnesty to Gòvernor Claiborne, in which he represents himself as a sadly maligned patriot, forced to go slightly astray by the burdensome revenue laws: "I *may* have evaded the payment of duties at the custom-house, but I have never ceased to be a good citizen!"

The "American Cyclopedia"[8] follows in the beaten track; briefly summarizing the contradictory versions of origin, and giving in allegiance to the least probable; and after referring to the New Orleans period affirms as carelessly as the rest that "the subsequent career of Lafitte is involved in as much obscurity as his earlier life."

The next of importance in the same line is Mr. Charles Gayarré, already referred to. He presents an excellent documentary exhibit for the five years, 1809 to 1814, of the activity of the Lafittes in Louisiana. He is the chief figure, moreover, as a real authority on this subject; and as we hope to refute his conclusions by his own statements, we shall proceed first to consider Mr. E. P. Mitchell, who presents the same old case in July, 1893. In his ably written article in the *Sun*, Mr. Mitchell first sets up the traditional straw man, the destruction of whom is put forth as the incentive to authorship by most of these writers. "There is a glamour of romance about every circumstance connected with Lafitte's career," he declares; and at once himself contributes an additional element of romance by reiterating the delusion that Lafitte's "origin, his early life, his latter years, and his death, are obscured in a mystery that is likely to be perpetual." Again, in the face of the fact of abundant evidence of a later career in Texas, more astonishing even than that to which he alludes in Louisiana, Mr. Mitchell declares "it is only for a brief period immediately preceding and during the events of 1814 in Louisiana, that his shadowy personality comes into anything like a sharp focus;" although he adds with much more reason that "even concerning the few definitely asserted facts about him, in that episode of his career, there is room for an immense

8. Article, "Jean Lafitte," Vol. x., p. 101, New York, 1875.

Digitized by Google

amount of controversy." But the straw man now takes definite shape under Mr. Mitchell's brilliant pen as follows:

There are two views of Lafitte to be considered here, and both are interesting. One is the Lafitte of the books of pirates, wherein he is duly exalted as the last of the great corsairs; the Lafitte of tradition and of the novelist; the Lafitte whom Lord Byron admired and made use of as a part of his poetic composition; the restless, gallant, desperate bandit of the seas, fearing neither man nor devil, nor, again, God's hurricanes; magnanimous in his rascality, and magnificent in his hospitality to friend or enemy penetrating to his lair and treasure-house on shore. This is the wickedly heroic figure which, cutlass in hand, person streaming with gore, fighting the way inch by inch across the slippery deck of the richly freighted prize, has for many years captivated the imagination of countless American and British youths. We frankly confess a considerable affection for Jean Lafitte in this aspect; but the sentiment shall not be allowed to outweigh the laws of evidence.

Whereupon, notwithstanding his "affection" for the charming rascal, Mr. Mitchell proceeds with the rest to annihilate him:

The other Lafitte is he of existing historical documents, and such testimony as has been preserved from the statements of credible citizens of New Orleans who knew him well in the early years of the century. This Lafitte is the landsman blacksmith who knew how to drive a sharp bargain, even if he did not know how to navigate a ship, and never brandished a boarding cutlass over the deck of any craft of commerce; the town agent of the Gulf smugglers, the trader who by his commercial genius and personal force built up at Barataria an extensive mart for the sale of the goods and slaves captured by the privateers sailing under Carthagenian or Colombian colors, which then swarmed in the Gulf and Caribbean Sea, preying upon the Spanish merchant marine; the client and friend of Edward Livingston, ex-Mayor of New York city; the adroit and politic citizen who enjoyed the confidence and society of the solid merchants of Louisiana, and managed on the whole to keep either well within the statutes, or, at least, on the safe side of public opinion.

But most extraordinary of all is his final estimate of the outlaw:

Of this Lafitte, about the worst that can be said is that he was a practical free trader on a large scale, who amply atoned for his lack of respect for the revenue and admiralty laws of the United States by a service of inestimable value to the country at the time when the British were preparing to invade Louisiana.

After smiling at Byron above, is not Mr. Mitchell, with his scheme of "ample atonement" by the outlaw, himself approaching perilously near to the poet's hero who left his name "linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes?" Finally, at the end of his article, as an explanation of the origin of the mass of glamour and romance which he so greatly deplores, Mr. Mitchell presents an hypothesis which is perhaps the most unique and extraordinary in the whole range of literature on this subject. He asks:

Digitized by Google

How does it happen that so little is really known about Jean Lafitte? Why has so vast a volume of fable accumulated around the person of a man of the nineteenth century? Partly because the nineteenth century imagination is as hungry for romance and mystery as was that of the sixteenth, or of the sixth. Partly, we suppose, because this remarkable ex-blacksmith, considering the nature of the business he engaged in, and the character of the men he had to deal with, found it to his advantage to encourage all sorts of yarns about his early life and sanguinary deeds and desperate valor. This is probably the principal key to the mystery of Lafitte's mysteriousness. The boss of desperadoes, it was part of his policy to figure as the most accomplished and experienced desperado in Barataria. It is quite likely that the Lafitte myth was largely of Lafitte's own creation.

After presenting throughout the conclusions of those who accept Lafitte (on his own testimony concerning himself mainly) as a "merchant smuggler;" and after announcing his own verdict, also principally founded—though indirectly perhaps—upon Lafitte's good accounts of himself, Mr. Mitchell would at last overturn all land marks by making the mysterious blacksmith also the author of all the infamous charges against himself, which his apologists have been laboring these years to refute. If this be not "confusion worse confounded" we know not where to look for an instance of it. We question if any of the "books of pirates" have succeeded in romancing in a fashion more bewildering.

We now turn to the two articles by Mr. Gayarré which appeared in the *Magazine of American History*, in 1883, and which are largely accountable, evidently, for Mr. Mitchell's hopelessly mixed views. Mr. Gayarré, in his turn, thus sets up the mythical figure for demolition:

The writer of this article might, in his youth, have informed himself thoroughly about the Lafittes; for he knew well several of their former companions, clients and moneyed associates, who were men of veracity. But the Lafittes, after their departure from Louisiana, in 1815, were forgotten as it were, and very little talked about among its rising generation. They had not then become the heroes of romance, and were not yet viewed through that mist of time which enlarges proportions and features, or makes objects so indistinct as to allow the imagination to give them fanciful shapes. All those who could have spoken the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the Lafittes, have descended into the tomb. Most that is now current about them among the credulous is derived from unreliable babblers, who have circulated the idle rumors of the street, or the fables of their own invention. I propose, in this paper, to relate only what is based on authentic records.

If this lament does not cast a glamour, on the contrary it certainly does, if true, plunge the whole subject into deep and impenetrable mystery—except as Mr. Gayarré's "authentic records" have preserved a brief period. But we can assure our author that

Digitized by Google

his regret for wasted opportunities in his youth is quite unnecessary, for what he neglected to do, other investigators (as remarked at the outset) set about with considerable care, while the result of their labor is handed down to us. Moreover, other witnesses were interviewed than the "clients," "moneyed associates," "men of veracity," and other respectable citizens of New Orleans who could scarcely be expected to give a version, even if true, which would implicate them as profiting from the operations of one of the most inexcusable scoundrels in modern history. But is it possible that Mr. Gayarré is ignorant of all this collected information? Or has he also presumed to ignore it and rate it with the "rumors" and "fables" of the "unreliable babblers."

Near the close of the second of his interesting articles, Mr. Gayarré again refers to the fact that "novel writers have taken great liberties with the Lafittes, and have represented them as cut-throats and freebooters;" and immediately issues this friendly challenge to his readers: "He who will read this strictly historical narrative will, I believe, come to the conclusion that they were merchant smugglers, and no more—not entirely degraded, but susceptible of noble sentiments and generous actions, which are not always incompatible with great irregularities of conduct; men who sacredly kept their pledged word, and whose honesty was of the strictest in their dealings with their clients and associates."

We are quite content to leave Mr. Gayarré's readers to decide for themselves whether there is any justification for such soft sentiments applied to outlaws who, according to his own showing, repeatedly exhibited themselves as cold-blooded murderers of the officers who sought to frustrate their outrages or recover some of the ill-gotten booty. Indeed, the easiest method of showing his warped judgment is to let him tell his own story.

Mr. Gayarré gives it as the general belief "that the brothers, Pierre and Jean Lafitte, came to New Orleans, in 1808, among the adventurers driven out of France by the hard times induced by the protracted European wars. The "impression" is that they came from Bayonne, although many say Bordeaux. At any rate,

> They were men of a limited education,[9] but intelligent, active; their manners were cordial and winning—of a sympathetic nature, bold and capable of creating an almost irresistible influence over congenial spirits. There was something imposing

9. *The American Cyclopædia*, on the contrary, says of Jean Lafitte: "There is every reason for believing that he was of a respectable family, and that his early opportunities for education had been good." Vol. x., p. 102.

Digitized by Google

in their appearance; both were tall and of commanding presence. Jean (*anglice* John) the younger brother [and most notorious by far], had a physiognomy which would have been remarked any where—under any circumstances—and which indicated that he was no ordinary man.

The brothers evidently had money, says our author, and surrounded themselves with friends or associates soon after their arrival in the city. They owned slaves, and employed them in a blacksmith shop[10] which they established on St. Philip street, between Bourbon and Dauphine streets, their residence being near at hand. Very soon, however, it became notorious that they were less blacksmiths than smugglers—so soon, indeed, as to excite suspicion in almost any mind that the former occupation was a mere blind, although it appears never to have occurred to Mr. Gayarré. The celerity with which they had interested citizens of the city in their operations is indicated in the first promulgation against them, which Mr. Gayarré cites. It was signed September 6, 1810, by Secretary of the Territory Robertson, acting governor in Claiborne's absence. This appeal to the citizens declared it a well known fact that two cargoes of negroes had "been already smuggled into the Territory;" stated the full conviction of the government that "an extensive and well laid plan exists to evade or defeat the operations of the laws of the United States;" and stigmatized the operations going on as "the open and daring course which is now pursued by a set of brigands who infest our course and overrun our country." To all this the significant statement was added: "At this moment, upwards of one hundred slaves are held by some of our own citizens, in the very teeth of the most positive laws."

This appeal had no effect, according to our author, except to embolden the smugglers by its manifestation of a public sentiment indifferent or quite in their favor. Major Lacarrière Latour,[11] whom Mr. Gayarré quotes, and who at the time of this episode was principal engineer in the Seventh military district of the United States, thus describes the condition of public sentiment: "It is a fact, no less true than painful for me to assert, that at Grand Terre [the stronghold of the outlaws] the privateers publicly made sale by auction of the cargoes of their prizes," while "the most respectable inhabitants of the state" were "in the habit" of availing themselves of these opportunities for good bargains.

10. Probably Lafitte was as innocent of actual participation in the work of a smithy as the *Delta* editor declares he was of the knowledge of navigation.

11. Author of a "History of Louisiana."

Digitized by Google

As described by Mr. Gayarré, the rendezvous of the band, the island of Grand Terre or Barataria, six miles long, and only separated from the coast by its "secure harbor," reached through the Great Pass of Barataria, was a retreat which might well stir the imagination. "This harbor," he declares, "communicates with a number of lakes, lagoons, bayous, sea outlets, and with canals, natural and artificial, leading to the Mississippi," which was "skirted by swampy forests," and formed altogether "a labyrinth of waters," offering "a tempting field of operations." This region had evidently been a resort of smugglers and tough, sea-faring characters for some time; and Mr. Gayarré, with his simple blacksmith theory, supposes the Lafittes were at first the modest agents in New Orleans of this motley crew, but presently gaining an ascendency over them perfected an organization for systematic operations on a large scale. He agrees with all other authorities that the outlaws "pretended" to be merely privateers, with letters of marque and reprisal against Spanish commerce from France and the new republic of Carthagena. And he seems disposed to allow the modest claim of the Lafittes that they never molested other than Spanish vessels.

Finding the first proclamation ineffective, eighteen months later, March 15, 1812, Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana (now become a state), issued the second appeal to the people. He wrote:

> **A considerable number of bandits, composed of individuals of different nations, have armed and equipped several vessels for the avowed purpose of cruising on the high seas, and committing depredations and piracies on the vessels of nations at peace with the United States, and carrying on an illicit trade in goods, wares and merchandise with the inhabitants of this State in opposition to the laws of the United States.**

But this document was as little heeded as the former one, and did not deter the operators, as Mr. Gayarré informs us, from "appearing day and night in the streets of New Orleans, and from carrying on their trade with its citizens and the planters in the adjoining parishes." At the end of another eighteen months a serious outrage on the part of the Baratarian crew called out another and more emphatic proclamation from Claiborne, dated November 24, 1813. In this he declares that "the violators of the law, emboldened by the impunity of past trespasses, no longer conceal themselves from the view of the honest part of the community, but setting the government at defiance, in broad daylight carry on their infamous traffic." The specific crime is then detailed:

Digitized by Google

It has been officially known to me that on the 14th of last month a quantity of smuggled goods seized by Walter Gilbert, an officer of the revenue of the United States, were forcibly taken from him in open day, at no great distance from the city of New Orleans, by a party of armed men under the orders of a certain John Lafitte, who fired upon and grievously wounded one of the assistants of the said Walter Gilbert;[12] and although process has issued for the apprehension of him, the said John Lafitte, yet such is the countenance and protection afforded him, or the terror excited by the threats of himself and his associates that the same remains unexecuted.

But notwithstanding that the governor availed himself of the occasion to "solemnly caution all and singular citizens of this state against giving any kind of succor, support, or countenance to the said John Lafitte and associates," his latest effort, as Mr. Gayarré asserts, was "as little effective as the preceding." It should be said that several expeditions against the Baratarians were prosecuted during this time by the United States, but in a seemingly half-hearted and insincere manner. On every such occasion the pirates "seemed to be mysteriously informed," and retreated from one resort to another in advance of the cruisers, returning to headquarters and resuming in full assurance as soon as the expedition withdrew. But when a British vessel attacked two of their craft, in June, 1813, they "showed no disposition to avoid an armed collision, as they generally did when threatened by the American navy," but "beat off the English, who suffered considerable loss."

In truth, the Lafittes exhibited no small degree of cunning statescraft in their studied care to avoid arousing the United States government, as far as practicable, and when aroused, to cajole and mollify this power—their one serious menace—by protestation and apparent deeds of patriotism. Indeed, it were well had they adhered to this rule even more rigidly; for it was several piracies in violation of it which led, years afterward, to their final expulsion from Texas, where they were operating with even greater impunity than in Louisiana.

Another public outrage, perpetrated by Lafitte, in January, 1814, stirred up the governor to one more effort. The revenue authorities, learning that some 415 negroes were about to be imported by the

12 We cannot say whether this is identical with the expedition recorded by almost all other writers, but not even alluded to by Mr. Gayarré, in which it is affirmed that "Lafitte surrounded the troops sent against him—and dismissed them, loaded with presents." Reputed to have occurred in the midst of a period Mr. Gayarré has investigated, we naturally expect him to brand this with the other features of romance, or at least express an adverse opinion, if he can justly do so. An equally inexplicable omission occurs in reference to another unchallenged assertion, that when Claiborne offered $500 for the head of Lafitte, the impudent scoundrel responded with an offer of $15,000 for the governor, dead or alive. Both incidents are accepted by H. H. Bancroft, the western historian, as late as 1889.

Digitized by Google

outlaws, stationed inspector Stout with twelve men at Barataria. This detail was set upon by Lafitte and his desperadoes, who killed Stout, wounded two others and took the rest prisoners. Claiborne had wearied of appealing to the loose morals of the people, and now requested the aid of a detachment of Federal troops from the commander of the military district embracing New Orleans; but was refused on the ground of the exigiencies of the war, then in progress with Great Britain. Foiled here, he addressed an urgent message to the state legislature, whose members, however, only reflected the supine sentiments of their constituents. A committee of investigation was appointed, but without result; while the pirates continued their "daily habit" of sending contraband goods for disposal in the various river towns, "under the escort of strong detachments of armed men," as Mr. Gayarré remarks.

Governor Claiborne, and perhaps the collector of the port at New Orleans, seem to have been the only persons in this disgraceful scene who displayed any symptoms of righteous indignation at the outrages, or exhibited a real concern for the reputation of the commonwealth. Meeting no response in any quarter, Claiborne set about an expedition on his own account, only asking the necessary authority from the legislature, in a message dated March 2, 1814. He declared:

> It is desirable to disperse those desperate men on Lake Barataria, whose piracies have made our shores a terror to mutual flags, and diverted from New Orleans that lucrative intercourse with Vera Cruz and other neutral ports which formerly filled our banks with the richest deposits . . . *I intreat you* to furnish me the means of co-operation on this occasion with promptitude and effect.

The governor requested authority to raise a special company of one hundred privates, with officers, to proceed against Lafitte; but the legislature dawdled, took a little testimony on the subject, and failed to grant the request.

At this juncture occurred the suspicious presentment by the grand jury, above alluded to, who hoped by their "public presentation," and "pointed disapprobation" to "remove the stain" that that had "fallen on all classes of society in the minds of the good people" of their sister states. In the farcical trial which resulted, Edward Livingston, ex-Chancellor of New York, was one of the attorneys of the outlaws; while the other, John R. Grymes,

Digitized by Google

resigned his office of United States Attorney, to take up this unholy cause.[13]

The acquittal of the "merchant smugglers" was of course a foregone conclusion.

Now occurred the exhibition of Lafitte's "one virtue," which has so "amply atoned" for everything in the estimation of his biographers. On the 3rd of September, 1814, a British brig, commanded by Colonel Nicholls, anchored in the Barataria waters, and dispatching an embassy, under a flag of truce, delivered a communication to John Lafitte, addressing him as "the Commandant at Barataria." This document contained the following proposition.

> I call on you with your brave followers to enter into the service of Great Britain, in which you shall have the grade of captain; lands will be given to you all in proportion to your respective ranks on peace taking place. . . . . Your property shall be guaranteed to you, and your persons protected.

To this disgraceful proposal Colonel Nicholls signed himself—as he might well have done with a very different intent—"your very humble servant." Accompanying this paper was a letter of instructions from Sir W. H. Percy, senior officer in the Gulf of Mexico, authorizing such a proposal, and with a threat attached to give it point, demanding the restitution of several British merchantmen "detained" by the "inhabitants of Barataria." In pressing their suit, the ambassadors, Captains McWilliams and Lockyer, offered Lafitte $30,000 to accompany his commission as captain. But spite of their urgency, the wily pirate demanded time for consideration, and presently dispatched an account of the whole affair to the Louisiana legislature through one of its leading members, John Blanque, together with a letter to Governor Claiborne.[14]

Lafitte certainly made the most of his opportunity at this juncture, exhibiting his versatile genius at its best, and with it a rare knowledge of human nature—especially American human nature.

13 During the trial, as the authoritles agree, Mr. Dick, who succeeded to the office reproached Grymes for his venial conduct in this matter, and was challenged to a duel in consequence, wounded in the hip, and crippled for life. Mr. Gayarre asserts, with the others, that fees of $29,000 were paid to both Livingston and Grymes, and he even gives space to one of the "romantic features,"—that the lawyers being required to call at Barataria for their pay, Livingston remarking that he was liable to be hung by the pirates as uncongenial, while no such obstacle could apply to Grymes, offered the latter a large commission to collect both fees, while Grymes, accepting the offer, was entertained royally for a week by the pirates, who conducted him from one to another of their retreats, and at length sent him home with the stipulated treasure.

14. It appears that Lafitte had withdrawn from the interview to attend to an urgent matter of "private business;" while immediately after his departure his followers seized the British officers and confined them throughout the night in the hold of one of their vessels. Lafitte released them the following morning and conducted them to their vessel with polite apologies for the breach of faith.

Digitized by Google

In his statement he thus described his melancholy situation: "Though proscribed by my adopted country I will never let slip away any occasion of serving her, or of proving that she has never ceased to be dear to me." While again, in a second letter to the governor three days later, he proffered his services in defense of the country, together with those, as he words it, of "several citizens who perhaps in your eyes have lost that sacred title." He declared that his vessels never sailed under any flag, except that of the republic of Carthagena, and were "perfectly regular in that respect," adding: "If you were thoroughly acquainted with the nature of my offenses, I should appear to you much less guilty, and still worthy to discharge the duties of a good citizen . . . . *If I could have brought my lawful prizes into the ports of this state, I should not have employed the illicit means which caused me to be proscribed.*" In other words, if there had been no laws to break, the good Lafitte would never have broken any!

Now, what is the view of this affair taken by the careful school who are guarding so assiduously against false glamour and romanticism? Mr. Mitchell regards it as a "service of inestimable value to the country," and considers Lafitte to have "amply atoned" thereby for his "lack of respect for the revenue and admiralty laws." Mr. Gayarre asserts that "the two outlawed brothers were thus sacrificing their own private interest and the most advantageous offer to the desire of protecting Louisiana against invasion." Indeed, whence came this sudden patriotism and love and devotion to Louisiana on the part of outlaws who had been for years consistently terrorizing the state, destroying her commerce, and exhibiting her as a laughing-stock? Among all the successional writers on this subject we have found but one, Benson J. Lossing, who seemed able to penetrate this farce. In spite of his false view of Lafitte, already spoken of, Mr. Lossing could not quite credit the transformation of the smuggler and murderer into a disinterested patriot. On the contrary, he says:

> Lafitte had amassed a large fortune by his lawless pursuits, and perceived the danger which menaced his trade, his possessions and his liberty. Already his brother, who had been his chief agent in New Orleans, was in prison for his offenses, and the authorities of the United States were preparing to strike a withering blow at Barataria. Lafitte, willing to save himself and his possessions, and preferring to be called a patriot rather than a pirate, asked the British messengers to allow him a few days for consideration.[15]

15. Harper's Monthly, January, 1865.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Mitchell, of the *Sun*, apparently quite unconscious of the tendency of his reasoning, presents the case with still greater severity against his "practical free trader":

> Lockyer waited a fortnight for Lafitte's reply and then, mistrusting the intention of the pirates, withdrew from the neighborhood of Barataria. Meanwhile, in New Orleans, the news of the impending invasion, as reported by Lafitte, had produced great excitement. About two months earlier the grand jury had found a second indictment against several members of the Barataria association. A man named Johannes had been indicted for piracy in the case of the Spanish ship Santa, captured and robbed of $9,000. A second Baratarian who called himself Johannot, was charged with piracy in the case of another Spanish ship captured off Trinidad, with a cargo worth $30,000. And Jean Lafitte's brother Pierre had been indicted as "aider and abettor in these crimes before and after the fact, who did upon land, to wit., in the city of New Orleans, willfully and knowingly aid, assist, procure, counsel and advise the said piracies and robberies." Pierre Lafitte had been arrested, and, bail having been refused in his case, was then a prisonner in the New Orleans calaboose. These proceedings indicated a more vigorous policy on the part of the authorities as against Barataria, and Jean Lafitte had actually gone to the island to prepare for the removal of the establishment to some more secure place.

But without perceiving, evidently, that he has hopelesly convicted Lafitte of the meanest and tamest motives, Mr. Mitchell attempts in the next sentence to throw the whole force of the evidence on the other side—"Such was the situation when the British officers arrived with *their tempting offer!*" What temptation there could be in a proposition requiring the abandonment of his imprisoned brother and lieutenants, with all his enterprises, and the placing of himself, his men and his possessions under the doubtful protection of a nation rigorous in her punishment of such evil doers and against whom he had trespassed repeatedly,—is most difficult indeed to comprehend by one who desires, like Mr. Mitchell, to steer clear of romanticism. It must be remembered, moreover, that the battle of New Orleans occurred after the declaration of peace, ending the war of 1812; and the trend of events for a considerable time previous had been such that Lafitte must have been a fool, rather than the shrewd and far-seeing rascal he certainly was, to have considered Great Britain's cause anything but hopeless.

It may be said in brief that Mr. Gayarré's view coincides perfectly with, if it did not suggest that expressed by Mr. Mitchell. He admits the crisis in the affairs of the pirates, but also seems to think this adds to the virtue of Lafitte instead of betraying the true inwardness of his pretended patriotism. Fortunately for the credit of

Digitized by Google

Louisiana and the United States, the authorities only hastened their preparations to root out the Baratarians; although Claiborne, who had formerly stood alone in honest opposition to Lafitte, was now the only one, with the single exception of General Villeré, who was generous enough to receive the outlaw's submission, now that his weakness was manifested. This was a pleasing proof that the governor's course had been disinterested throughout. But the polished desperadoes were insincere and unworthy; and we must rejoice that Claiborne's counsel did not prevail, in spite of the complaint of Mr. Gayarré, that "there was in preparation for the destruction of the two outlawed brothers, an expedition which was carried through with the utmost vigor, notwithstanding a full knowledge of the patriotic course they were pursuing."

Under the command of Captain, afterwards Commodore, Patterson, this expedition was soon under way. The pirates, it is affirmed, supposed it directed against the British and were thus surprised at Barataria. They made a show of fight at first, but, according to the official report, soon deserted their vessels and fled to their retreats on the mainland. The brothers Lafitte were among those who escaped (Pierre having previously contrived his exit from the New Orleans jail).

Soon after the proposals of the British to the Baratarians had been made public through Lafitte's disclosures, General Jackson, from his headquarters at Mobile had sent forth a proclamation in his accustomed violent style. He said:

> I ask you, Louisianians, can we place any confidence in the honor of men who have courted an alliance with pirates and robbers? Have not these noble Britons—these honorable men, Colonel Nicholls and Captain W. H. Percy, the true representatives of their royal master—done this? Have they not made offers to the pirates of Barataria to join them and their holy cause? And have they not dared to insult you by calling on you to associate as brothers with them and these hellish banditti? Confident that any attempt to invade our soil will be repelled, the undersigned calls not upon either pirates or robbers to join him in the glorious cause.

But when Jackson reached New Orleans and saw the inadequate force at his command, his temper changed materially. John Lafitte called upon him in person and made so favorable an impression that not only was the pirate chief permitted to serve with Jackson's army, but a general jail delivery was granted to the many Baratarians and other criminals who were willing to enlist. And thus, says Mr. Gayarré, "General Jackson, fettered as he was by his own words

Digitized by Google

and acts, revised his decision, changed his mind, and henceforth trusted to the utmost Lafitte and his bandits."

The outlaws fought bravely in the battle of New Orleans, so far as we know—it was a business at which they were adepts. Lafitte's lieutenants, however, won more renown in the engagement than their chieftain, whose actual participation has even been denied altogether, though probably on insufficient grounds. Jackson's testimony concerning the pirates, issued in his general orders following the battle, is as follows:

> Captains Dominique and Beluche, lately commanding privateers at Barataria, with part of their former crews and many brave citizens of New Orleans, were stationed at Batteries Nos. 3 and 4. The General cannot avoid giving his warm approbation of the manner in which those gentlemen have uniformly conducted themselves under his command, and of the gallantry with which they have redeemed the pledge they gave at the opening of the campaign to defend the country. The brothers Lafitte have exhibited the same courage and fidelity, and the General promises that the government shall be duly apprised of their conduct.

Upon this Mr. Gayarré justly comments: "It is impossible to refrain from a smile when observing in how short a time General Jackson had modified his views concerning those men. On the 21st of September they were 'pirates and hellish banditti.' On the 21st of January they were 'privateers and gentlemen.'" And yet, speaking of Jackson's cordiality exhibited towards them, this author asks the absurd question: "Would he have done so if he had continued to consider these men as pirates and cut-throats?" Certainly not. He no longer considered them as pirates and cut-throats, but as ex-pirates and reformed cut-throats, who had "amply atoned" for the past—blotted out their thousand crimes with the one virtue which he especially admired.

It was, no doubt, principally Jackson's influence at Washington which secured President Madison's indefensible proclamation of February 6, 1815, in which he granted "full and free pardon of all offenses committed in violation of any act or acts of Congress touching the revenue, trade or commerce of the United States with foreign nations, at any time before the 8th of January, 1815, by any person or persons whatsoever, being inhabitants of New Orleans and the adjacent country, or being inhabitants of the island of Barataria and the places adjacent in the State of Louisiana."

In this apologetical document Madison is forced to descend to euphemisms of the worst sort in slurring over the outrages perpetrated by the pirates, thereby laying us open to the just sneer of a

Digitized by Google

foreign author, that "thus an apology is made for Lafitte and his companions even by a President of the United States!"[16]

Mr. Gayerré in defending the brothers Lafitte, exhibits the most painful contradiction and confusion. He acknowledges that they sometimes resorted to murder, but asserts their reluctance to do so; and in order to prove this, declares that prudential reasons alone were sufficient to restrain them! We give his own words on this point:

> Pierre and John Lafitte always objected to unnecessary violence. When opposed by force they used force; they wounded or killed their adversaries, but never wantonly (!)—they even avoided it as much as possible, *and that from evident reasons and prudential motives.* Whenever there was any armed collision, Jean Lafitte in particular, always strove to put an end to it, and to make it as little fatal as possible. On one occasion, when carrying merchandise through Bayou Lafourche, he was attacked by a post of revenue officers stationed on shore. He repulsed them successfully, but almost apologized for the blood he shed, saying to the men he fought: "I desire you to know that I am averse to such strifes, but at the same time you must distinctly understand that I prefer losing my life rather than my goods.

Is not such an apology worthy of Robin Hood himself? And this from one of the chief apostles of the anti-romantic school! Another convincing argument—to Mr. Gayarré, at least—is the fact, as he states, that Captain Dominique, one of Lafitte's lieutenants, lived in New Orleans, and many years later dying there, "was buried at the public expense—a poverty which demonstrates that he could not have been much of a pirate!" Notwithstanding that the Baratarian nest was disastrously broken up, that Dominique had the habits of his class, and that New Orleans has always been notorious for its gambling opportunities—not to speak of a hundred other possible exigencies—Mr. Gayarré considers the final poverty of this man a "demonstration" that he was no pirate! Such nonsense requires no comment.

Again, he finds one of the Lafittes serving as a second in a duel in which the second on the other side, St. Géme, "had no superior in New Orleans as to social position," and "was considered by the whole population as a sort of Bayard." Wherefore he asks: "Would St. Géme have consented to meet Lafitte in the capacity I have mentioned if the latter had really been looked upon as a pirate?" In view of the immoral regard for the pirates always manifested by the

16. "Life of Jean Lafitte, the Pirate of the Mexican Gulf." By "W. B.," in the *United Service Magazine*, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, March 6, 1852. (No. 407, vol. xxxii., pp. 433-446.)

Digitized by Google

"best citizens" of New Orleans, together with their complete vindication and recent glorification by Jackson and Madison as heroes of the battle of New Orleans, should we not rather ask: Would not St. Géme deem it an honor to meet Lafitte in that capacity?

We have presented at length the facts upon which Mr. Gayarré builds his extraordinary opinion of the Lafittes. He believes that any one reading his "strictly historical narrative will come to the conclusion that they were merchant smugglers, and no more—not entirely degraded, but susceptible of noble sentiments and generous actions." As for himself, "after much investigation," he "cannot but think that they were mere smugglers, eager for ill-gotten lucre, it is true, but adverse to shedding blood, *which they always did reluctantly!*"

In one of his letters of repentance to Governor Claiborne, Jean Lafitte described himself as "the stray sheep wishing to return to the sheepfold." If it could be shown that after his disappearance from New Orleans Lafitte had lived in retirement, honesty and repentance during the rest of his life, some slight excuse might be found for the various palliations of his crimes which we have been considering. It may have been this necessity which has induced so many writers to say, or insinuate, that his latter years are "obscured in a mystery that is likely to be perpetual." But Mr. Gayarré closes with a clue which should have impelled him to search further; while he is still more reprehensible if, having done so, he withheld from his readers every hint of the result of his investigation. He states that Lafitte "seems" to have settled at Galveston, Texas, from 1806 to 1820, "when he was expelled from that locality, some say by the Mexican government, and others by the United States." Thus he leaves the subject.

Mr. H. H. Bancroft states[17] that little is known of the movements of Jean Lafitte during the two years succeeding his departure from New Orleans, although "he seems to have cruised about the gulf and endeavored, though unsuccessfully, to establish himself at Port-au-Prince." (*American State Papers*, xi., 351.)

But from this point there appears little of the mystery and obscurity we have heard so much about. We shall quote from Mr. Bancroft's condensed account, compiled from documentary authorities easily accessible:

17. Vol. xi. of "History of the Pacific States," and vol. ii. of "North Mexican States and Texas." San Francisco, 1889; pages 39-43.

Digitized by Google

A few days after the departure of Aury[18] from Galveston . . . Lafitte appeared at the island with his privateers. The number of his followers was then about forty, and on the 15th of April, 1817, these freebooters proceeded to establish a government, with the object of "capturing Spanish property under what they called the Mexican flag, but without an idea of aiding the revolution in Mexico, or that of any of the Spanish revolted colonies." (Raymon Espagnol's testimony,[19] in *American State Papers*, xi., 359.) It seemed good . . . to imitate the policy of Aury in order that their lawless captures might be introduced into Louisiana with less trouble. . . . Under the auspices of this worthy administration, Galveston soon became the asylum of refugees from justice and desperadoes of every nationality and dye. By the end of the year, Lafitte's followers numbered nearly 1,000 men, and their depredations in the Gulf were carried on to such an extent that Spanish commerce was almost swept from that sea. The United States government would have broken up the nest but for the opposition of the Spanish minister, Onis. The boundary question had not yet been settled, and it was feared that if the government at Washington dispersed the buccaneers from Galveston by armed forces, it would retain possession of the island.[20] Thus for years the Pirate of the Gulf remained unmolested. On the site where the city of Galveston now stands he erected a fort, and built himself a house, around which numerous other edifices soon sprung up, forming a busy settlement, which he named Campeachy. On the 9th of October, 1819, Galveston was declared a port of entry of the Republic of Texas, which had lately been proclaimed by the leaders of another expedition into the country, and Lafitte was made governor of the place. Shortly afterward one of his followers, named Brown, robbed an American vessel near the Sabine, and being pursued by the United States schooner *Lynx*, Captain Madison, he abandoned his boats and escaped with the crews to land. The *Lynx* sailed to Galveston, and Lafitte summarily hanged Brown. Madison was satisfied with this prompt measure, and with the disposition shown by Lafitte to bring the other culprits to justice (see the correspondence on this matter between Captain Madison and Lafitte, in *Nile's Register*, xvii., 395–6; also, "A Day with Lafitte," in *Democratic Review*, vi., 40). But in the following year another American vessel was taken by one of Lafitte's cruisers and scuttled at Matagorda Bay. The government at Washington sent a commission[21] to inquire into the case, and the Report being unfavorable to Lafitte, the *Enterprise*, Lieutenant Kearney, was sent early in 1821, to break up the Galveston establishment. Kearney visited the freebooter in his house, where he was hospitably entertained. Lafitte, aware of the fixed determination of the United States government, proceeded to obey orders. He destroyed his fortifications, paid off and disbanded his men, and on board his favorite vessel, the *Pride*, sailed away forever from the shores of Texas.[22]

18 Reference to this remarkable adventurer will be found further on.

19 Raymon Espagnol held the office of "Secretary of the Treasury and Notary Public" under this farcical government, and was a prominent participant in the whole affair. It is noticeable that only Lafitte's lieutenants were elected to office or signed papers.

20 See the objections raised by Onis, December 6, 1817, when informed of measures taken by the President to suppress these marauders. (*American State Papers*, xii., 11.)

21 Composed of Dr. Oliver and Messrs. Johnson and Davis, all of New Orleans.

22. Lafitte continued to cruise about the West India waters, the despoiler of such craft as he dared attack, till near his death, in 1826. He was buried in Yucatan, in the cemetery "Campo Sanco," of the town of Cilám or Dilam.

Digitized by Google

The writers we have reviewed, excepting Mr. Mitchel, could not of course have seen the above when their articles were written. But this fact affords no excuse. Nearly all the original documents from which Bancroft's compact statement is compiled—containing a multitude of interesting details which he does not touch upon—have been in evidence for fifty years or more. Nor is this all. It will be remembered that the original article in *De Bow's*, which inaugurated the controversy, was published in 1851. The final article of the *Delta* editor, with its limited horizon, but sweeping statements—the model of so many since—made its appearance in 1855. Between these two dates, in the spring of 1852 in fact, there appeared in this country, in *Littell's Living Age*, the article by "W. B.," already referred to in a note. This monograph by a foreigner is the most careful, complete, systematic and healthy presentation of Lafitte that we have been able to find from that day to this.

It appeared before the false and dogmatic ebullition of the editor of the *Delta*, and ought to have checked his rashness. The same thing applies to every writer since who has failed to correct his misapprehensions from the same authority. "W. B." availed himself of the same documentary sources as Bancroft for Lafitte's Galveston career. This he supplemented with carefully collected reminiscences from United States army officers who had visited Lafitte officially, as well as from such of the pirate's lieutenants as could be induced to open their mouths. Mr. Gayarré was distressed that he had not informed himself "thoroughly" about the Lafittes in his youth from several of their "former companions, clients and moneyed associates." This is precisely what "W. B." attempted to do, but on a much larger scale. His frank confession shows that it was quite impossible to "thoroughly inform" himself in this way, however; and that Mr. Gayarré would have been much less successful with the few accessible to him in New Orleans. But "W. B." demonstrated the desperate character of Lafitte's operations by the information which he could not get, as much as by that which he did obtain. He remarks:

> Although there are still living some of Lafitte's officers, men, companions, and agents, in the United States, the West Indies and Texas, it is not *convenient* for them to disclose particulars.

One such officer, after giving a statement of externals, significantly added: "It will be very difficult to get at *particulars*, some of them being of a strange character."

Digitized by Google

The wife of another lieutenant, who had frequently accompanied her husband on expeditions, related some "very strange stories of their cruel behavior towards the prisoners." At first she "did not like it," but "soon got used to it."

Our author quotes the expression of an author at the time of Captain Patterson's expedition against Barataria: "The breaking up of this piratical establishment is of great importance to the United States, for it is ascertained that vessels clearing from New Orleans with passengers had been captured and every soul on board murdered. They took indiscriminately vessels of every nation, and this fact was well known at New Orleans, Pensacola, etc."

From "W. B." we learn that "one Commodore D'Aure, who had obtained from the Mexican revolutionary agent, Herrea, who resided at New Orleans, a commission nominating him governor of the province of Texas, and general in the republican army . . . took possession of Galveston Island," having with him "some of the Lafittes or Baratarians."

The collector of the port of New Orleans complains of these outlaws in a letter dated August 1, 1817. "The most shameful violations of the slave acts, as well as our revenue laws, continue to be committed with impunity by a motley mixture of freebooters and smugglers at Galveston, under the Mexican flag, being in reality little less than the re-establishment of Lafitte's Baratarian bands, somewhat more out of the reach of justice . . . The establishment was recently made there by a Commodore Aury." They maintained, he declared, a "pretended court of admiralty" for the condemnation of prizes through a form of law. In a second communication, the collector notes the withdrawal of Aury, and the subsequent ingress of Lafitte, which we have already noted.

Lafitte's cheaply purchased reputation for patriotism in Louisiana suffered a severe collapse in Texas, where no persuasion of General Long and others could induce him to lift a finger to secure the independence of Texas. He generously "wished them well" in the fight, but bent all his energies on his own selfish enterprises. In a letter to General Long, written in 1819, Lafitte gave the following heroic account of himself: "The last eight years of my life have been devoted to warring against Spanish cruelty and despotism."

Lafitte also gave his own version of his origin,[23] in which, as usual, he figures as a martyr. None of the writers we have been

23. Quoted by H. H. Bancroft.

Digitized by Google

criticising seem aware of the existence of this pathetic burst of confidence, else they would surely have utilized it as another proof of the docility and harmlessness of its author. This bit of romantic autobiography was put forth by Lafitte, in 1821, under the stimulus of one of his own dinners, given to Lieutenant Kearney and the officers of the *Enterprise*, on the occasion of their visit to Galveston to expel him from that coast.

According to his own story, Lafitte was a rich merchant of Santo Domingo, who closed up all his affairs in that island about the year 1803 purchased and fitted up a ship with his possessions and family aboard, and set sail for France. Overtaken by a Spanish man-of-war, he was captured, stripped of his wealth, and left with his wife on a barren sand key. Here an American schooner found him and conveyed him to New Orleans. Goaded to desperation by this outrage, Lafitte joined some reckless characters, and fitting up a schooner set forth to wreak eternal vengeance against Spain. "For fifteen years," he added with a heroic flourish, "I have carried on a war against Spain. So long as I live I am at war with Spain. Although they call me a pirate, I am not guilty of attacking any vessel of the English or French." [24]

Lafitte's significant failure here to claim equal innocency of all trespass against American commerce might seem strange, did we not remember that he was addressing American officers sent to expel him for just such an offence. His own account of the beginning of his sea-faring career at New Orleans, moreover, is quite at variance with the emphatic assertions of his apologists, that he was a land-lubber and a blacksmith, ignorant of the first principles of nautical knowledge.

The New Orleans writers have accepted Lafitte's statements about himself, made in that city, and defended them against all other testimony. But if they had searched at Galveston for the pirate's later statements, they would have found a sufficient refutation of their view of the matter even from his own lips. Thus while they make him a mere blacksmith and land agent, by his own admission he owned and commanded a vessel before he saw New Orleans; and immediately procured another after his arrival in that city, and set out on a mission of vengeance. Indeed, these admissions, if we could give them any credence, would seem to make plausible the

24. It is important here to note the demand of Sir W. H. Percy during the war of 1812 for the restitution of several British merchantmen "detained" at Barataria.

Digitized by Google

stories of Lafitte's earlier piracies. Is not his own statement that he was sole proprietor of a vessel freighted with all his effects, a significant confession from one charged with having in very truth sailed a ship on his own account—and that under the black flag?

But we do not cite Lafitte's inconsistent statements as placing any confidence in them one way or the other; although they should make a very valuable, if troublesome, addition to the information of the school of writers who persist in receiving the scoundrel's own estimate of himself in the face of the most overwhelming evidence on the other side. But even these, in whatever light they may continue to regard his career in Louisiana, must henceforth admit that in Texas, at least, Lafitte was something more than a "merchant smuggler" or "a practical free trader." In Texas, if not in Louisiana, he fully earned his title of "Pirate of the Gulf;" and the romanticists cannot be lawfully deprived of the pleasure of applying it.

A pirate of the worst character Lafitte most assuredly was—covetous, murderous, unprincipled and contemptible; brave enough, no doubt, at the head of a crew of desperadoes, but ready to sacrifice his own men or resort to the most humiliating pretense in order to escape impending retribution.

Byron's lines, which present Lafitte's name

> "Linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes,"

accurately portray the false figure created by the very writers who have most abused the poet. But for ourselves we cannot accept the characterization without a correction. We have seen indications enough of the thousand or more crimes; but have searched in vain for the single virtue.

FRANK ALLABEN.

Digitized by Google

ORLANDO BRONSON POTTER.

Orlando Bronson Potter, born at Charlemont, Franklin county, Massachusetts, March 10, 1823, is descended through both his father and mother from Puritan pioneers, who came over from England among the early emigrants. John Potter, his direct paternal ancestor, was born in England in 1607, came to America in 1638, and settling at New Haven, Connecticut, became one of the signers of the "Plantation Covenant," drawn up June 4th, 1639. Samuel Potter, the father of Orlando B., was born at Hamden and reared in Northford, New Haven county, Connecticut. He removed to Charlemont in 1819, carrying his effects by two ox teams, and soon thereafter was married to Sophia Rice. The founder of her family in America, Edmund Rice, came from Barkhamstead, England, and settled at Sudbury, Mass., in 1638. Moses Rice, great-grandson of Edmund, and himself the great-grandfather of Mrs. Potter, was the first settler and principal proprietor of the town of Charlemont, where he was killed by the Indians, in 1755, while defending the fort he had built to protect the settlement.

Orlando B. Potter was the third of ten children. He worked upon his father's farm at Charlemont until sixteen years of age, and during the last six years of this period the management of the farm devolved largely upon him, his father being much of the time absent from home on public business. Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen the enterprising lad prepared himself for college, working on the farm during spring and summer, and attending school in autumn and winter. He entered Williams College in August, 1841. He maintained a high standing in his classes, but ill health and lack of funds forced him to leave the institution in his sophomore year. After a short mackerel-fishing trip, he taught school, serving in this capacity the academies at East and West Dennis on Cape Cod. Having resolved to study law, in order to provide means, he engaged in the spring of 1845 to teach a class of young ladies afternoons; and at the same time rented several acres of stubble ground, enriched with a fertilizer made of sea-weed cut with his own hands from the rocks on the sea-shore at low tide, and cultivated his garden during the forenoon of each day. In August, 1845, he closed his school,

Digitized by Google

harvested his remaining garden products and what he could not market at home, carried in a fishing schooner to Provincetown and peddled from house to house with a horse and cart, and with the money thus earned entered the Law School of Harvard College in 1845.

He continued the study of law at Harvard, and in the office of the late Charles G. Thomas, at Boston, until 1848, during the time teaching two terms of school. During part of this time, to eke out his means, he boarded himself, buying and cooking his own provisions. He was admitted to the bar, in Boston, in 1848. Declining a partnership with Mr. Thomas, the young lawyer opened an office at Court Square, Boston, and one in South Reading, ten miles from the city, attending the former office during the day and the latter in the evenings. He evinced considerable skill and tact as a collector of bad debts, was successful from the start, and soon had a paying practice. His defense of two young men engaged in the sewing machine business, Messrs. William O. Grover and William E. Baker, against an unjust claim, in 1852, proved an important factor in determining his career, for he soon became interested with them, forming the firm of Grover, Baker & Company, in which he took the active management of the financial and even more important, legal departments. In both these spheres he was eminently successful, and he made the Grover & Baker business one of the most profitable of any sewing machine business known during that time or since.

In May, 1853, he removed to New York to establish the business here. In 1854, the company was chartered, and from that time known as the Grover and Baker Sewing Machine Company. Mr. Potter was its first and only president. As general manager, he directed the policy of the company in the disposal of machines, even to the details of office management and agents' terms. He was familiar with all features of the business and made it a point to understand all. The active business of this company terminated in 1876, and from that time he has not been identified with manufacturing or commercial trade.

From the time of his removal to New York, until his death, Mr. Potter was actively identified with the growth of New York city, constructing under his personal supervision many large stores and warehouses, and at the same time becoming well known and highly respected in financial circles. He was the originator of our present

Digitized by Google

national banking system. The unsatisfactory scheme of state banks was in operation at the beginning of the civil war, and realizing the inability of the system to sustain the business of the country and furnish means for the war, immediately after the defeat at Bull Run, Mr. Potter wrote the following exhaustive letter to the Secretary of the Treasury.

HON. S. P. CHASE,
SECRETARY OF THE U. S. TREASURY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR SIR :—I beg leave to suggest for your consideration a plan which occurs to me as certain, if adopted, to secure for the country several ends *always* important, but especially so *now*.

PLAN.

Allow banks and bankers, duly authorized, in the loyal states, to secure their bills by depositing with a superintendent appointed by the government, U. S. stocks at their par value, in the same way that the banks and bankers in New York now secure their circulation, by depositing New York State and U. S. stocks with the *State*, thus making the stocks of the U. S. a basis of banking on which alone a *national circulation* can be secured. To do this, it is necessary only for the government to authorize and appoint a superintendent connected with the Treasury, whose duty it shall be to receive from duly authorized banks and bankers within loyal states, U. S. stocks in sums of not *less* than, say $200,000 from one party, and hold the same as security for an equal amount of bills to be properly stamped and signed by such superintendent, and delivered to the depositing bank or banker. This mark or stamp and signature of such superintendent to guarantee to the holder of the bills issued that the same are secured by U. S. stocks deposited with and held by the government ; and that in case the same shall fail to be redeemed by the bank or banker issuing them, then, on due demand and protest, such superintendent will sell, after proper notice to the bank or banker, and apply to the redemption of said bills the stocks held to secure the same.

This money might properly be designated *United States currency*, as distinguishing it from the bills issued in the several states, and not *thus* secured, and should be so plainly and unmistakably designated as to be readily distinguishable everywhere at sight. It *might* be received and paid out by the government in cases where it is not

Digitized by Google

otherwise agreed or provided, but this is not at all essential to the plan, and might encounter the prejudices of those who think specie more reliable than the faith and covenant of the government under which they live.

The plan will be fully understood by an examination of the statutes of this State regulating the securing of their circulations by our banks, by deposit with the State.

The objects which will be secured by this plan are :

First.—It is obvious that the bills thus secured will have, in whatever State issued, a national circulation, and be worth the same in all parts of the country ; nay, these bills will be worth *their face* wherever American commerce is known. A ready medium of exchange would be always at hand throughout the country and between all parts of it, and all fluctuations and trouble in this respect would be forever ended.

Second.—The fact that in this way banks and bankers could obtain a national circulation for their bills would make United States stocks eagerly sought after by them, and their price would be *always maintained at or above par*, though they bore only a low rate of interest. Four per cents. could never fall below par after the system is fairly understood and at work.

Third.—This will enable capitalists in the older States, by investing in United States stocks, to engage in banking and furnish a currency to the younger States which will be equally serviceable to them as if issued in their own States. A bill thus secured issued in Boston will circulate as well in Oregon as if issued in Oregon, and probably better.

Fourth.—None of the objections justly urged against a United States bank lie against this plan. It gives to the government no power to bestow favors, and does not place a dollar in its hands to lend. It leaves the banks and bankers of the several States to do their business as now, in the same banking houses and under the same direction, within such safeguards and limitations as the several States may themselves impose. The banks will hold their charters from, be controlled by, and be accountable to their several states, as before. All the government does by this plan is to place upon so much of the currency as is secured *by its own stocks* the stamp of nationality, to the extent of placing upon each bill so secured its assurance that the bill is so secured to the bill holder, and that upon failure of the bank, the stocks deposited with the government officer

Digitized by Google

shall be by him sold, and the proceeds applied to redeem the bills.

Fifth.—If the United States debt should not be sufficient to afford sufficient security for the bank circulation of the country, the banks can issue bills for *domestic* circulation, secured by the stocks of their own States, as they do now, the bills being so marked as to be readily distinguishable at sight from those secured by United States stocks. Indeed, all the bills secured by United States stocks deposited with the government should have engraved upon them some suitable stamp, which should be the same upon every bill, so that it might readily *become familiar to everybody.*

Sixth.—This would make the government and capital mutually dependent on each other, and every bank and banker would feel a daily interest in supporting and keeping the government credit above suspicion. Every citizen, too, who is supplied with such a currency —a currency which will be equal to gold throughout every foot of our territory, and everywhere of the same value, with which he can travel from Oregon to Florida and from Maine to New Mexico— would feel and realize, every time he handled or looked at such a bill bearing the national mark, that the union of these States is verily a personal benefit and blessing to all.

If it is thought more prudent, but ninety per cent. of the stocks deposited may be issued in bills, and thus all fluctuations in the stocks be provided against.

Exactly what legislation would be required to carry out this plan you will readily see. One simple statute, creating the superintendent and directing him how to receive and hold the stocks, mark the bills, and sell and apply the stocks to the redemption of the bills in case of failure of any bank issuing them, would be all that would be demanded. Such a statute passed, and the national stocks would instantly be absorbed by the banks, because *thus, and thus only*, could they make their *circulation national.* No sooner would *one* bank supply itself with such a currency than *all must, in self-defense*, because the people *would have a national currency* for daily use, and would deal with the banks who could supply this. The several States will promptly provide the requisite legislation on their part, by providing that this *United States currency* need not be further secured by deposits with the State.

The adoption of this plan could not fail to put an end to all financial troubles during the war, and be an increasing benefit and

Digitized by Google

blessing ever after ; while it would supply all the means required for the war, it would instantly enable the older and newer portions of the country to increase their trade with each other, by supplying to such newer portions an abundant and perfectly safe currency.

If it be said that this plan bases the currency upon a permanent national debt, the answer is, it bases so much of the currency as is necessary for the purposes of exchange and inter-state commerce upon the credit of the nation, and leaves with the nation, by regulating the amount of its debt or limiting the amount of bills which may be thus stamped and secured, the power to control the amount of the national currency, and keep it within the wants of the people ; while the power of loaning the money and using it reposes with the people, exactly as now, through their banks. Bankers *can get no more* bills than Congress authorizes, and legislators or politicians cannot handle one dollar of these bills unless they are placed in their hands by the owners of them. It is impossible to see how such a system can be made use of for political ends.

This plan has many decided advantages over the present expedient of treasury notes. It makes it for the direct interest of every bank and banker to keep the United States stocks above par. It also puts upon the banks, and not upon the government, the *redemption of the circulation*, the government only acting as trustee in selling the deposited stocks in case the bank fails to redeem.

A permanent national debt of sufficient amount for these purposes, which is a bond of union, a guaranty for peace, and a daily convenience and blessing to all, will have no terrors for a people whose interests have been the sport of fluctuations in exchange, as ours have for the last ten years.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

O. B. POTTER.

NEW YORK, August 14, 1861.

This plan, after careful consideration and discussion, was at length adopted by Congress in the National Banking Act, passed February 25, 1863.

A Whig before the war, Mr. Potter voted for Lincoln in 1860, and since 1861 has been allied with the Democratic party. In 1878 he was nominated for Congress from the Tenth Congressional District of New York, but was defeated. In the fall of 1882 Mr. Potter was elected to Congress from the Eleventh Congressional

Digitized by Google

District of New York. He served upon the House Committees on Banking and Currency and on Expenditures in the Treasury Department, and contrary to the usual custom with new members, was called upon to participate in most of the important discussions before the House. He opposed every step towards centralization by assuming to the general government the duties and responsibilities of the States.

Among other services, in speeches delivered June 13, 1884, and February 11, 1885, he contended successfully for the extension of the free delivery system under the postal service to towns and cities not then supplied by such service. Again, in the consular and diplomatic service of the country he opposed, in a speech delivered May 14, 1884, the reduction in salaries in this field to a point so low that the service could only be entered by the wealthy, contending that these duties should be shared equally by those not possessed of wealth, and to this end should be rewarded by just and adequate compensation. Almost unsupported upon his side of the House, he urged that the necessary authority be given the President to complete negotiations then in progress for the acquisition by this government of the control of the Nicaragua canal route. In opposition to the Democratic side of the House he supported successfully the Senate amendment then pending authorizing the Postmaster-General to contract for carrying our foreign mails in American bottoms, under the American flag, at the same price paid foreign ships for equivalent service. Mr. Potter declined renomination for Congress in 1884.

In the affairs of the city of New York also, Mr. Potter was one of the most prominent and well known citizens, active in local public affairs and of national reputation. He was identified with state and national legislation affecting mercantile and commercial interests. He originated and secured enactment of the laws under which the debt of the city is being refunded at a low rate of interest; and he contested in the Supreme Court the law of the State ordering the destruction of the city reservoir at Forty-second street, and gained a decision of the unconstitutionality of the law on the ground that the State could not control the private property of the city. For this service he received a vote of thanks from the Common Council of New York.

In 1886 there was a movement by the independent citizens of New York city for the election of a mayor independently of party

Digitized by Google

machinery. At a public meeting, called for this purpose, a committee of one hundred was appointed to make such a nomination.

This committee, in its report recommending unanimously the nomination of Mr. Potter, said:

The Mayor should be a citizen in fact as in name, whose interests are identified with good government, and who would be a conspicuous sufferer among the taxpayers and laborers on whom the burdens of bad government fall; he should be a man of integrity and courage, already tried in public life and not found wanting, able to face and resist the pressure of private friends and public enemies; one whose character is so high and his ambition so pure that no one can imagine him to seek any end but the public good, and whose experience and knowledge of men forbid the fear that he will be blinded or deceived. If, besides, he is a man whose estate is already so great that the pecuniary temptations of office have no meaning to him; if he is one who has made for many years a special study of municipal goverment in all its departments; who has familiarized himself with that confused mass of statutes known as the charter of our city; with the working of every branch of its administration, with the opportunities it offers to schemers and plunderers for self-enrichment and for political chicanery, and who is peculiarly qualified by the habits of a long life of efficient and successful business management to improve that administration in practice as well as to amend it in theory—if all these special endowments for this office can be found united in one man, we are fortunate in having an ideal candidate for the mayoralty. Add to all this such standing and influence with the best elements of the dominant national party of this city as make it impossible for any faction to hope to elect an inferior man in opposition to him, and we have some of the reasons which determine our Executive Committee to present to you the name of Orlando B. Potter for the office of Mayor of New York.

He declined this nomination, however, and, after the union of the Democratic party upon Hon. Abram S. Hewitt as candidate, he gave to him his enthusiastic and unreserved support.

In 1889 he was Chairman of the Committee on Transportation of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington. He was one of the original committee of fifty which protested against the State Convention of February, 1892, and which resulted in the Syracuse Convention and the nomination of President Cleveland at Chicago in June following. As stated in the resolutions of the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, passed soon after his death, among other things: "From that time (1884) Mr. Potter became the most prominent man in this state in championing the improvement and preservation of our state canals, and upon the death of Abram B. Miller was made Chairman of the Canal Committee of this Board. He represented this Board on several occasions in the National Board of Trade and in other gatherings and conven-

Digitized by Google

tions. Not a winter for ten years has passed without his making frequent visits to Albany to use his influence and persuasion before committees and with members of the legislature and the Governor in behalf of public interests."

In May, 1892, when the plot of lots on Convent Avenue between 142d and 143d streets, on which stand the thirteen historical gum trees planted by Alexander Hamilton in 1802, in commemoration of the union of the thirteen States which first formed the United States of America, were sold at auction, Mr. Potter purchased the plot at considerable above its real value. The shoots from which these trees have grown were cut for the purpose by General Hamilton at Mount Vernon, with the object of adding an additional interest to what he knew would be, in the far future, a national monument, commemorative of a great historical event, and which he felt posterity would jealously guard, not only for his sake, but also from the sympathy that would be felt with the patriotic purpose which prompted this act of commemoration. Mr. Potter purchased the property for the sole purpose of preserving this historical memorial of the past, of which too few are left in the city of New York, and he hoped to see the plot made into a public park to effect this purpose, to which end he intended to donate the ground on which the trees stand to the city if the park should be established by it.

Mr. Potter was given the honorary degree of LL.D., by Williams College in 1889.

The bent of his mind was always towards serious things. Mindful of his own early struggles, he took great interest in young men, and was ever ready with friendly counsel and assistance to help those he thought deserving. He was an earnest friend to the colored race, and was always ready to help them in their endeavors for better education and the improvement of their condition.

In 1870, a sense of overwork and needed rest induced him to buy a farm of several hundred acres on the Hudson, one and a half miles above Sing Sing, where he since made his summer home, and, as in all his other work, gave personal supervision. He was well versed in agricultural matters, and was President of the State Agricultural Society in 1891 and 1892. He spared no expense in the practical improvement of this place. Much of the milk, as well as flowers and other products of the farm, found their way to the sick and the poor of New York. Here, too, he each year brought poor children from the city for health and recreation.

Digitized by Google

He was a member of the Democratic, Reform and Patria clubs, of the Civil Service Reform Association and the Bar Association; vice-president of the Ruptured and Crippled Hospital; trustee of the Bleecker Street Bank and numerous other business corporations, and a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade and Transportation, besides many other associations and societies for the advancement of education, science and good government.

Mr. Potter was married in 1850 to Martha G. Wiley, daughter of Benjamin B. Wiley, Esq., of South Reading, Mass. He had seven children by this wife, of whom four are living. His first wife died in 1879. Mr. Potter married again, his second wife being Mary Kate Linsly, daughter of the late Dr. Jared Linsly, of New York.

It may be further said that the work of Mr. Potter as a man of business, developing this great city, is not the least remarkable among his notable achievements. He was one of the most substantial and at the same time most progressive figures in the business world. He devoted himself especially to real estate improvements, and was foremost among the pioneers in the modern development along this line. This is generally recognized.

On the day following Mr. Potter's sudden death, January 2d, 1894, the New York *Tribune* said:

> From his first entrance into this city his faith in its destiny was unshaken. At a time when enterprise was nearly brought to a standstill and capitalists feared to invest a dollar in anything but government bonds; when business generally was in the lowest state of depression, following the panic of 1873; when industry seemed paralyzed and there was little employment for the mechanic or laborer, he was bold enough to buy the large property at Astor Place and Lafayette Place. When scarcely another building was being put up in New York he erected the big Potter building in Park Row, then the tallest of its kind in the city, and there have been few years when his workmen have not made some substantial addition to the city's taxable property, either by stores, warehouses, tenement houses or office buildings, lasting monuments to his faith in the city as the abiding centre of wealth, influence and commerce upon this continent.

This, after all, was but a single feature of his broad, public spirit, which was manifest in Mr. Potter's hearty co-operation in every movement of reform or improvement. It was inevitable that his death should cause a sense of loss to the city in whose material development and adornment he had become so important a factor.

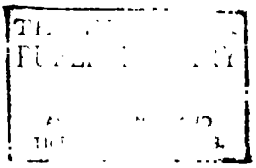
Digitized by Google

THE MANDEVILLE FAMILY.

The name of Mandeville comes twice into prominent connection with English letters. Most familiar is that old traveler, Sir John Mandeville, who, in writing of what he saw on his journeys, did it so well that he has been called "the father of English prose." His work was published between 1357 and 1371. In the early years of the eighteenth century, the very age of Addison, Swift, Pope and the other "wits of Queen Anne," there appeared Bernard de Mandeville, who wrote a satirical work on ethics, followed up later by more serious publications on the same subject. His antecedents are especially of interest in the present connection. He wrote English with such mastery that we would hardly look for any other extraction for him than from some of the English Mandevilles, the Earls of Essex being of that family. But he was a native of Holland, born at Rotterdam, where his father practiced as a physician for thirty years. He must, therefore, have come to Holland from France about the year 1640 or 1645. Gillis Jansen de Mandeville, the earliest recorded ancestor of the American Mandevilles, was born in France, but married his wife in Holland in 1645, therefore it is more than likely that the Rotterdam physician belonged to the same family which emigrated from France on account of the fearful annoyances to which Huguenots were subjected even before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685.

Gillis Jansen de Mandeville, with his Dutch wife, Elsje or Eliza Hendricks, came to America with their four children, in 1649. He first bought a farm at Flatbush, Long Island, which passed into the possession of his son Hendrick. He next bought a "Bowerie" or farm, almost directly across the island from Director Stuyvesant, on the west side, between Eighth Avenue and the river, and Bethune and Twentieth streets. This eventually became the property of his son David, and here the father and mother were still living in a good old age in 1686, for upon Domine Sellyns' list of members, preserved in manuscript, we read of "Jillis Mandevil en zyn h. v. [and his *huis vrouw*, i. e., wife] Elsje Hendricks." They are recorded as living "*Over het versch water*," i. e. beyond the fresh water, or Collect pond. But the "fresh water" of this pond had its outlet into the

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

Gobs D. Mandeville

North River somewhere near Canal street, and farmers living out on the other side of this stream might be designated as "beyond."

In 1701, Hendrick Mandeville, the Long Island farmer, bought land in Morris county, New Jersey. His son Gilles married there and had eight children, of which Anthony was the great grandfather of Giles Henry Mandeville.

REV. GILES HENRY MANDEVILLE, D.D.

Dr. Mandeville was born in New York city on December 12, 1825, his father, while living temporarily in that city, having married there. When he was but a few years old his father returned to the country, and there Dr. Mandeville grew to manhood. Displaying aptitude for study, and having been deeply impressed with religious convictions, it was determined that he should study for the ministry. Accordingly he attended preparatory school at Hackensack, N. J., from thence entered Rutgers College at New Brunswick, N. J., in 1844, and graduated in high standing with the class of 1848. He remained three years longer to pursue the prescribed theological course in the seminary of the Reformed Church in America, connected with the college, and in 1851 he was licensed to preach and ordained to the ministry.

Before he was quite through with his seminary studies he had received a call to the Reformed church of Flushing, Long Island. He accepted the charge and was ordained pastor in 1851. Flushing was but a small village at that time, and the church was but a feeble one. Yet there was excellent material for building up, and a society of culture and wealth was a decided stimulus to the talented young preacher. Appreciating his worth they soon caused prosperity to crown his labors. Flushing was a historic spot, famous for its nurseries then, as now, but also cherishing memories and mementoes of the visit of George Fox, the eminent Quaker, and the favorite resort of prominent New Yorkers. Here was the homestead of the Bownes, one of whom was mayor of New York, and here, too, were relatives of a later mayor, Wickham. In colonial times governor George Clinton had his country seat here. This atmosphere of high bred society was very favorable to the exercise of one's best gifts, and when, after eight years of ever-growing prosperity, Dr. Mandeville was called to another field, the church of Flushing was greatly in advance of what it was when it called the young preacher from the seminary. It has ever since occupied a place among the strong churches of the Dutch Reformed

Digitized by Google

denomination. It may be added that Dr. Mandeville, while still a pastor there, wrote a history of Flushing, which is considered the best and most authentic ever written, and which, though out of print, is still in great demand.

In 1859 Dr. Mandeville was called to be pastor of the Reformed church of Newburgh, N. Y., situated upon the Hudson river, commanding a magnificent view of that portion of the stream where it loses itself in tortuous courses among the towering and projecting headlands of Breakneck and Storm King and Crow Nest and Sugar Loaf. The city had already entered upon its career of manufacturing and commercial greatness. Yet the church, with these great opportunities around it, was not in good condition. It required some courage and self-denial to leave an appreciative community, a devoted people and a flourishing church. But Dr. Mandeville seized the possibilities of the situation, and felt that great things might be evolved out of the present comparative feebleness. Accordingly he accepted the call and courageously entered upon the work of strengthening and building up. At Flushing he had gone through the pleasing experience of seeing the church building become too small for his audiences, so that it was enlarged by incorporating the chapel portion with the main structure. Curiously enough a similar work had to be undertaken with the much larger edifice at Newburg. It can easily be discerned to-day by the tourist on the river or in the railway car on the opposite side, where it rears its noble portico, supported by massive pillars, on the brow of the hill upon which Newburg is built. The parsonage by its side also commands a most inspiring prospect of the opening into the highlands of the Hudson, and the gracefully undulating backward sweep of the Fishkill mountains as they stretch from the river to mingle with the hill country far from its banks.

Success achieved in this larger field as in his first charge, naturally indicated another step forward and upward. After rounding out a decade at Newburg, Dr. Mandeville was called to a metropolitan pulpit. He accepted the call and became pastor of the Reformed church of Harlem, New York city. In the days when Petrus Stuyvesant, the familiar friend of Gillis Mandeville and his worthy spouse, was still ruler of Manhattan, four years before the English came to disturb his rule, in the year 1660 the church of Harlem was organized in the then far distant village. But the progress of humanity in the arts has brought Harlem as near to the Battery and Wall street as

Digitized by Google

Canal street or Fourteenth street were fifty or sixty or a hundred years ago. And this fact received its demonstration especially while Dr. Mandeville was pastor of this old historic church. The audience that flocked to its pews was a metropolitan one, as much as any further down town, and they were drawn to his pulpit by efforts worthy of the denizens of such a city as ours. Dr. Mandeville is noted for the effectiveness of his elocution, managing his voice admirably to suit the expression of the moment; it rolls in trumpet tones about the audience hall at one time, while at another a thought of tenderness will reduce it almost to a whisper. At the same time his style is one of warmth, combining clearness of reasoning with flights of the fancy, where illustration is needed to elucidate the thought.

In spite of gratifying success coming to his hands as the city more and more grew to larger proportions around his church, after eleven years of service here Dr. Mandeville resigned his charge, in order to devote himself to a line of ministerial work especially dear to his heart and which had already claimed some of his best efforts while overburdened with the labors of an increasing city church. For many years he had been a member of the board of education of the Reformed church. A very important part of the work of that board had been connected with institutions in the west, in Michigan and Iowa. In Michigan a college had been established in 1866. But unwise management had greatly entangled its financial affairs, so that some of its departments had to be suspended. It was also expedient to effect a change in the presidency. At this critical and delicate juncture, Dr. Mandeville was elected provisional president. It would seem a sufficiently difficult task to attend to pastoral duties in New York and untie several gordian knots in the affairs of a college in Michigan. But the thing was done. By eloquent and ingenious appeals in the church papers, as well as by personal management, enough money was collected to meet the obligations, which had meanwhile been much reduced by skilful handling of matters in Michigan, and when, after two years, Dr. Mandeville was relieved of the provisional presidency at the time when the college could go on of its own accord again, there was besides a handsome surplus of several thousand dollars to be added to its endowment funds.

When Dr. Mandeville resigned his church we can readily understand that it was with peculiar pleasure that he now devoted himself exclusively to the interests of the Board of Education. He was made

Digitized by Google

the corresponding secretary, with the direction of its affairs under his guidance. This is the congenial position which he now holds. By virtue of it to him is committed the task of keeping alive the interest of the denomination in its various struggling institutions in the west; as well as to hold them to the duty of providing for the support of young men who are studying for the ministry. It is also his province to awaken within promising young men the serious consideration of the fact whether they ought not to give themselves to the ministry.

On the 29th of July, 1851, Dr. Mandeville was married to Rachel Jacobus, a descendant from an old Morris county, N. J., family. Four children were the fruit of this marriage—three daughters and one son.

HENRY ADDISON MANDEVILLE, M. D.

Dr. Henry A. Mandeville, only son of Rev. Dr. Mandeville, was born in the parsonage at Newburg, on December 16, 1859. He graduated from the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York city, when he had just completed his twenty-first year. After a few weeks' rest he entered upon the important course of medical experience covering two years in the Presbyterian hospital, this city. Subsequently he became associated in practice with Dr. Thomas H. Burchard. His special abilities as a practitioner were soon manifest, and he rapidly rose in favor with the profession and attained an increasing clientage. On September 17, 1887, he married Mrs. Jennie J. Morgan (*née* Rice), and they have since resided at their beautiful home called "Sunnyside," on the sides of the Orange mountains, New Jersey, which was the property of Mrs. Mandeville. He soon became an influential and useful citizen of that community and trustee of the Presbyterian church, a member of the health board, of the board of village trustees, and of the school board, with occasional professional ministrations among some families with whom his relations remained especially intimate, and also gratuitous services among the poor.

Digitized by Google

Henry A. Mandeville

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Digitized by Google

NEWARK, N. J., INCORPORATED.—IV.

SOME OF ITS PUBLIC MEN.

In April, 1836, a charter was obtained making Newark a city. Its acceptance by the people was signalized by the roar of cannons, the lighting of bonfires, and a general jubilation. On the 11th of the same month was held the first charter election, which resulted in the choice of William Halsey as mayor. At the same time for aldermen were elected from each of the four wards: from the North ward—Abraham W. Kinney, William Lee, Isaac Meeker, John H. Stephens; South ward—Isaac Baldwin, Thomas B. Pierson, Aaron Camp, Henry L. Parkhurst; East ward—William Garthwaite, Joel W. Condit, James Beardsley, James Miller; West ward—Enoch, Bolles, William Rankin, Abner P. Howell, James Keen. Several of these became mayors of Newark, or occupied other prominent positions. Having as yet no city hall, their first meeting was held in St. John's lodge room, in the uppermost story of the Newark Academy, which then occupied the spot upon which the post-office is now in course of erection. On that occasion the city government was first organized, and suitable persons were elected to fill the offices of recorder, clerk, treasurer, surveyor and street commissioner. Among these, as among the aldermen, were men who subsequently arrived at distinction.

THEODORE P. HOWELL.

Theodore Pike Howell, late a prominent manufacturer and highly esteemed citizen of Newark, N. J., was born at Succasunna Plains, in Morris county of that state, January 6, 1819. His ancestors were of Welsh origin, the name being frequently found in parchments of the twelfth century variously spelled O'Ial, Huel, Hoel, and later Howel, as given in that important literary monument known as the "Code of Howel Da." It was originally a baptismal name. The earliest American ancestor of the subject of this sketch was Edward Howell, who, on March 14, 1639, was made one of the freemen of Lyme, Conn., and subscribed to the required oath on that occasion. He was then the possessor of 500 acres of land at that place. Subsequently he removed to Long Island, and was one of

Digitized by Google

the grantees of Southampton in the Indian deed, 1640; and in 1647 was made a magistrate. In the early part of the eighteenth century a number of families from Connecticut purchased a large tract of land in Essex county, N. J., a few miles from Newark, and having divided it into farms of a convenient size, gave it the name of "Connecticut Farms." Among these settlers were descendants of Edward Howell, one of whom at a later period found a home at Succasunna Plains in the adjoining county of Morris, at no great distance from the original settlement. Here, as already stated, the subject of this sketch was born, his father being Jacob Drake Howell, an officer in the regular army of the United States, who died in 1826. When only seven years old, young Howell was taken into the family of his uncle, Samuel M. Howell, then a resident of Newark, and a manufacturer of leather. At a suitable age he was placed in the school of Rev. Stephen Grover, of Caldwell, N. J., one of the best private academies in the vicinity of Newark. In his studies he manifested the same ambitious spirit which subsequently governed him in his business, and, as may be supposed, he became proficient in all the branches of learning to which he was here introduced. Having completed his academic course, he entered the harness manufacturing establishment of Smith & Wright, in Newark, and after remaining therein a number of years, found employment in the factory of his uncle, where he made himself thoroughly familiar with all the processes of tanning and currying. Here his fidelity as well as his excellent business qualifications won for him high consideration, and soon after reaching his majority in 1840, his uncle admitted him to partnership, and under the firm name of S. M. & T. P. Howell, they subsequently began the manufacture of patent and enameled leather, which had been about that time brought to great perfection by the distinguished Newark inventor, Seth Boyden. The greatest success attended their enterprise, nor was this success greatly interrupted by the destruction of their factories in 1848. These were immediately replaced by more commodious buildings erected upon a tract of five acres purchased at once for that purpose. Operations in the new works had just been begun when the senior member of the firm, Mr. S. M. Howell, died. The necessity of a competent and interested assistant induced Mr. T. P. Howell to associate with himself Mr. Thomas W. Dawson, a gentleman of experience and skill in the business. This partnership continued until 1855, when Mr. Dawson withdrew, and a stock company was organized, with Mr. Howell as president.

Digitized by Google

Albert Publishing & Engraving Co New York

Thurlow Weed

Digitized by Google

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

Digitized by Google

Manufacturing facilities were at one greatly enlarged, and the establishment became ultimately the largest in the world in that line of manufactures, many of its products finding a market in Europe, South America and the West Indies. Under the direction of Mr. Howell, extensive works were erected at Middletown, N. Y., for the manufacture of Russia and other leathers, and, moreover, a slaughter house, covering seven city lots, was established in New York city, where a quarter of a million of skins were handled annually. To all this complicated business Mr. Howell gave his personal attention, and it must be admitted that he led a life of unceasing toil and vigilance. It was, in fact, a matter of pride with him to be at his post at seven o'clock in the morning, and to ring the bell for his workmen. He was cognizant of everything that was going on around him, and could give prompt and specific instructions upon any point that might be referred to him for investigation. Difficulties which would appear to many insurmountable were to him, apparently, but trifles, and on no occasion did he lose his self-possession, or suffer his proverbial cheerfulness to be disturbed.

Burdened as Mr. Howell must have been by his immense and constantly growing business, yet so systematic was he in every thing, that he could always be relied upon whenever a public or private service could be required of him. While never an office-seeker, he was always active and prominent in politics, and no primary meeting or convention of his district seemed complete without his presence. In early life he fought valiantly as a Whig, and when that party, taking the name of Republican, found itself in 1856 without a leader, and with two strong political parties to oppose it, Mr. Howell came gallantly to the front, and though certain of defeat cheered and kept life in his party by accepting a nomination for the mayoralty of Newark. Throughout the long and trying period of the war of the Rebellion Mr. Howell always took a patriotic stand, doing active service on various committees, and contributing liberally of his means whenever the cause of the Union could thus be aided. In all matters that involved the credit and welfare of Newark he manifested a lively interest. He was one of the most earnest of its citizens in securing the charter of the plank-road, and of the New York railroad, believing that increased avenues of communication between these cities would cheapen transportation and place the manufacturers of Newark in fair competition with those of other cities. As a good citizen and a thorough business man, his experience and

Digitized by Google

sagacity could not fail to make him desirable and prominent in various financial institutions, and among these were the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company, the American Insurance Company, and the Howard Savings Institution, of all of which he was a director. On many occasions he was foreman of the grand jury of Essex county, and it became a subject of remark that whenever he held that position the business of the grand jury was always expeditiously and thoroughly performed. The congregation of the Park Presbyterian church of Newark numbered him among its most useful and liberal members, and for many years he was president of its board of trustees.

No man was more highly esteemed and respected by his fellow citizens than Mr. Howell, and by his death, which occurred after a long and painful sickness, December 3, 1878, the city of Newark lost one of its bravest and most valuable men. In early life he married Miss Eliza W. King, of Bloomfield, N. J., who, with two sons and four daughters, survived him. Ten years before Mr. Howell's death his eldest son, Henry Clay Howell, became a member of the firm of which his father was the head. He was then twenty-two years of age, having been born October 10, 1845. Not only had he received a good education at the Newark and Bloomfield academies, but he had become throughly acquainted with all the details of his father's extensive works, and with the ten year's experience under his father's guiding hand he was fully competent to succeed to the immense business which had lost its founder and able manager. With his brother, Samuel C. Howell, the great establishment was maintained without interruption and with all its wonted success. In fact, under this able management the business has greatly increased, and the house is still recognized as the largest of its kind in the country, not only for its local, but for its vast export trade, which extends to almost every country throughout the world. Mr. Henry C. Howell succeeded his father as director in the several financial institutions with which the latter was connected. He is a director in the American Fire Insurance company, one of the managers of the Howard Savings Institution, as well as of the Mount Pleasant Cemetery company. He is president of the Howell Huichmant Company of Middletown, N. Y., and is a director of the Hide and Leather National Bank of New York city. Mr. Howell is a man of rare executive ability and inherits from his father the energy, enterprise and other characteristics which contributed so largely to

Digitized by Google

the latter's long and successful business career. His brother Samuel C., has charge of the manufacturing department of the establishment, which he manages with great ability and success.

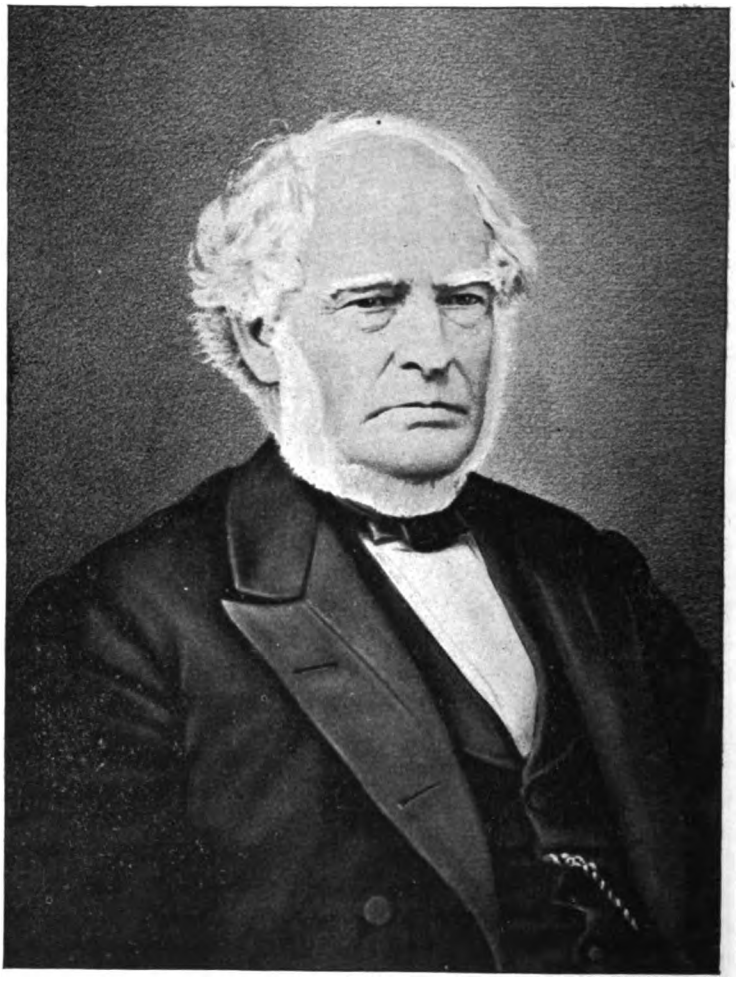
MOSES BIGELOW.

Moses Bigelow was born January 12, 1800, at Lyons Farms, an old agricultural settlement bordering upon the city of Newark, N. J. Here he passed his boyish days, and here acquired the first rudiments of learning in the "old stone school house," with which are connected so many stories of varied interest, and which a hundred years have failed to topple down. After acquiring all that could be offered to him here, he was sent to a school of higher grade in Elizabethtown, a few miles distant, where he obtained an education which was deemed sufficient for almost any walk in life. His early purpose was to be a farmer, as was his father, but his love for books and study eventually diverted him from this intention, and he entered as a student-at-law the office of governor William S. Pennington, at that time a judge of the United States District Court for New Jersey. Here he acquired a knowledge of the law which, although he never became a practitioner, was of great value to him in after life.*

In 1821 he entered on a mercantile career and invested his capital in the manufacture of boots and shoes for the southern and western markets. In this enterprise he was successful, but finally disposed of his interest and entered the wholesale grocery business in 1831 with Mr. Pruden Alling, and later organized a company for the manufacture of clothing, but it did not survive the disastrous crisis of 1837. In 1848 Mr. Bigelow found the times sufficiently propitious for him to seek the tide that leads to fortune. In that year he entered quietly into the business of manufacturing varnish, wherein his keen perceptions discovered safety as well as profit. The establishment which he then founded became for him the source of a generous income throughout the remainder of his life, and still bears his name. In 1857 he was called to the office of mayor of Newark, and was yearly elected to that position until 1864. As mayor, Mr. Bigelow exhibited a rare judgment and interest in the public welfare which was felt in every department of the city

* For fuller details of Mr. Bigelow's career see National Magazine for November, 1893.

Digitized by Google



MOSES BIGELOW.

Digitized by Google

government. In the performance of his official duties he was always actuated by a determination to do what was right and in accordance with the dictates of his conscience. His integrity and efficiency as mayor brought forward his name more than once for highly responsible positions, and on one occasion the opportunity was afforded him to become a candidate for gubernatorial honors; but after closing his career as mayor he declined every public office that was tendered him.

Mr. Bigelow married, February 4, 1836, Julia Ann Breckinridge Fowler, daughter of Dr. Samuel Fowler, the learned mineralogist, by whom he had six children, three only of whom are now living. His death occurred in Newark, N. J., June 3, 1878.

SAMUEL FOWLER BIGELOW.

Samuel Fowler Bigelow, son of Hon. Moses Bigelow, was born in Newark, N. J., March 29, 1837. Having received a thorough preliminary education, he entered the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, and was graduated from that institution in 1857. Soon thereafter he began the study of law in the office of Hon. Amzi Dodd, subsequently vice-chancellor of New Jersey, and was admitted to the bar of that state in 1860. He began at once the practice of his profession in his native city and was very successful. In 1862 he was appointed city attorney, an office which he held several years. In 1868 he accepted the appointment of judge of one of the city courts. He was an active mover in the erection of the state district courts, the first of which were, chiefly through his instrumentality, established in the city of Newark. In 1888 President

SAMUEL FOWLER BIGELOW.

Digitized by Google

Cleveland appointed him United States attorney for the district of New Jersey, and in this position he rendered many important services, among them being his rigorous and successful prosecutions of steamship companies for sending vessels overcrowded with emigrants to the ports of Hoboken and Jersey City. Proceedings were taken by him against more than twenty vessels, and the penalties inflicted upon the captains and owners caused the discontinuance of a practice that had resulted in much scandal and suffering.

Mr. Bigelow has never sought political distinction, such public offices as he has held having always been within the line of his profession. On one occasion, governor Bedle, of New Jersey, tendered to him a position on the gubernatorial staff with the rank of colonel, but this was declined. He is devoted to his profession, in the practice of which he is still engaged in his native city.

THE SOCIETY OF OLD BROOKLYNITES.

WITH SKETCHES OF SOME OF ITS MEMBERS.

This society was incorporated in 1880, and now numbers between three and four hundred members. Any person of good moral character and reputation, who was a resident of the town or city of Brooklyn fifty years before the date of his application, shall be eligible to membership.

Its objects, as stated in the certificate of its incorporation, are to promote good fellowship and social intercourse among its members, to collect, collate and preserve the revolutionary, genealogical, civic and social reminiscences of Brooklyn and of its inhabitants, to protect its rights, to cherish and cultivate a local pride and spirit, and to promote science, literature and the fine arts.

Its monthly meetings have been regularly held, the sick have been visited and the dead properly interred.

Between two and three hundred interesting papers have been read before the society, which have been published at length in the columns of the daily papers, and have been carefully preserved in the archives of the society, together with other valuable historical souvenirs.

These papers relate to the history of Brooklyn as it was when a wilderness inhabited by Indians; as a town, a village, and finally,

Digitized by Google

its development into a city of about one million inhabitants. They include biographical sketches of its citizens, interesting reminiscences of the early settlers and their history. They show the growth of our ferries from the time when the only boat to cross the river was propelled by oars, afterwards followed by others operated by horses, and finally a fleet of over seventy-five steam ferryboats. They describe how even these immense facilities proved insufficient, and the necessity which led to the building of the great Brooklyn bridge, carrying many millions annually across the river. They present, also, the history of the fire department, the military and the police force, the schools, secular and Sabbath, benevolent institutions, churches, courts, and sketches of its judges, and many other matters of local interest and development.

Special papers might be mentioned on the training days of fifty years ago, on old taverns, as contrasted with modern saloons, on the old Apprentice Library, to which the young had free access, and which was afterwards converted into the City Hall and courts of justice, now demolished ; on elections, as conducted sixty years ago, one of the political questions that then divided the villagers being whether swine should be allowed longer in the streets ; and on the historical event of the opening of the Erie canal, connecting Lake Erie with the ocean. Other papers, in a broader historical field, related to the Revolution and the War of 1812 down to the Civil War. These will increase in value as the years pass, and, if printed in book form, would be a valuable addition to any library.

An album has been provided in which to preserve the photographs of its members, and a register, showing the full name, autograph, residence, place and date of birth and date of death.

The Society of Old Brooklynites have been very greatly interested in the subject of erecting a monument to the memory of the twelve thousand martyrs who perished on board the prison ships at the Wallabout during the Revolutionary war. These martyrs came from every one of the old thirteen states. A larger number died on board these ships than were killed in all the battles in that memorable struggle. In 1808, patriotic citizens of Brooklyn, in connection with the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order of the city of New York, collected the bones of these martyrs who had been exposed to the storms of winter and scorching suns of summer, as they laid exposed on the banks of the Wallabout bay, and placed them in a temporary tomb. A slab of marble is entrusted to the Society by their

Digitized by Google

fellow citizen, Arthur W. Benson, Esq., which formed the corner-stone of the former tomb, on which is the following inscription :

"In the name of the spirits of the departed free ; sacred to the memory of that portion of the American soldiers and citizens who perished in the cause of liberty and their country, on board the prison ships of the British (during the Revolutionary war) at the Wallabout.

"This is the corner-stone of the vault which contains their relics. Erected by the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order of the city of New York, the ground for which was bestowed by John Jackson, of Nassau Island. Season of blossoms ; year of discovery the 316th ; of the institution, the 19th ; and of American Independence the 32d. April 6, 1808.

"Jacob Vandervort, John Jackson, Burdett Stryker, Issachar Cozzens, Robert Townsend, Benjamin Watson and Samuel Cowdrey. rey, —Wallabout Committee. William and David Campbell, builders."

The members of the society will use every exertion in their power to have this stone, in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Benson, the contributor, occupy a suitable place in such a monument as will be a credit to our government, an ornament to our city, and a proof that republics are not always ungrateful, and that we appreciate the virtues of the sturdy patriots whose death it will commemorate.

The society determined to do all in their power to erase this dark page from our country's history. Her cruel neglect in refusing to entomb or even to notice the grave where lay the remains of twelve thousand of brave and patriotic men who suffered imprisonment, want and cruel torture, even death, for the sacred cause of liberty aroused them and they sent the following memorial to Congress :

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled :

Your petitioners, an incorporated society of the city of Brooklyn, under the title of the Society of Old Brooklynites, would respectfully represent : That the remains of more than 12,000 martyrs to the cause of liberty lie entombed in this city who died during our Revolutionary War on board the prison ships of the British at the Wallabout, and which were buried on our shores during that memorable struggle, many of which by the action of the waves were washed out of their shallow graves and their bones scattered along the beach exposed to the summer's sun and winter's storms, until in 1808, when the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order of the City of New York, had them collected and buried with

Digitized by Google

imposing ceremonies in which the governors of several states, mayors of cities and civil, military and ecclesiastical dignitaries from all parts of the country took part. The place of burial was on Jackson street, in this city, and the tomb, a temporary wooden structure, in which they were placed, became so dilapidated by reasons of changes made in the surroundings and from natural decay, that the sacred remains were again exposed to the gaze of the multitude, until the park commissioners of this city, with the sanction of the city government, prepared with great care and expense a permanent and imperishable tomb for their reception on the historic ground of Fort Greene, a charming elevation in Washington Park in this city, overlooking the scene of their sufferings and death, to which the sacred remains were carefully removed and deposited. These devoted patriots, from every one of the original thirteen states, were prisoners of war taken by the British army and navy, by sea and land, in that long and desperate struggle for freedom.

When it is remembered that constant and unremitting efforts were made by the British officers to induce these prisoners to purchase their freedom and save their lives, by enlisting in the service of the enemy; that many, probably the majority of them, had families who were suffering by reason of their absence; that to remain in these horrible prisons was almost certain death; and that under all these circumstances they remained faithful to the cause in which they had enlisted, and preferred death to dishonor—we must concede that they earned the title of "Martyrs of the Prison Ships," and deserve such recognition from the government, to aid in the establishment of which they sacrificed their lives, as will show to the world that republics are not ungrateful, but that we cherish their memories, honor their devotion to their country, and will erect such an enduring monument to commemorate their virtues as will stimulate future generations to emulate their patriotism.

We, therefore, most respectfully ask that your honorable body will make an appropriation of not less than one hundred thousand dollars toward the erection of a monument to be erected at or near the spot where their sacred remains now lie, the site for which will be donated for that purpose by the city of Brooklyn.

JOHN W. HUNTER, President.
Brooklyn, January 5, 1888. SAML. A. HAYNES, Secretary.

More than twenty-five thousand citizens signed this petition.

Similar resolutions were introduced in the Senate of the state of New York and were at once concurred in by the Assembly.

The matter was taken up also by the common council of the city of New York, and resolutions of identical character were passed by them, and certified copies were ordered to be sent to all the members of Congress from that city, who were earnestly requested to favor the bill. Similar action was taken by the Kings county board of supervisors, in July, 1888.

At a very large meeting of soldiers and citizens, held on Sunday, May 27, 1883, at the tomb of the martyrs on Fort Greene, in honor

Digitized by Google

of the heroes who perished on board the prison ships, after singing by the children of the public schools and religious services, and an eloquent address by one of the generals of the late war, the following were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, The Society of Old Brooklynites has petitioned Congress for an appropriation of one hundred thousand dollars for the erection of a monument to the memory of those we are here assembled to honor; therefore,

"Resolved, That Congress is hereby earnestly requested to pass the bill presented by the Hon. Felix Campbell for that object, believing that no more worthy can claim the attention of Congress than thus to honor the memory of that gallant army who, when persistently importuned to choose between the prison ships and enlistment in the army of the king, exclaimed: *Give us the prison ships and death*, or Washington and liberty."

The Society sent also to every member of Congress a pamphlet, entitled the "Christus Reminder," saying the Society of Old Brooklynites takes great pleasure in presenting to you the names of eight thousand of the prisoners who were confined on board the British prison ship the Jersey, during a part of the Revolutionary war. After diligent research among the records of the British War Department, access to which was kindly permitted by Her Majesty's government, this is all that can be found and these are from the records of this one ship only. No record of the names of any of the prisoners of the prison ships Scorpion, John, Strombolo, Falmouth, Hunter, Prince of Wales, and Transport, can be found, though their log books make very frequent mention of prisoners having been received on board.

The list here presented is therefore but a small portion of those of our fellow citizens who were confined on board these floating golgothas, nor is it possible to designate which of these names died on board, but authentic history, within the memory of the parents of many now living, proves that the number that died and were buried on our shores, and over whose remains we now desire to erect a monument worthy of these patriots, numbered more than twelve thousand.

From these floating dungeons, the hearts of whose keepers must have delighted in the luxury of woe, the bodies of our countrymen after death, were taken on shore, and one of our Revolutionary poets thus describes the manner in which their remains were disposed of:

Digitized by Google

Each day at least six carcasses we bore,
And scratched their graves along the sandy shore ;
By feeble hands the shallow graves were made,
No stone memorial o'er the corpses laid.
In barren sands and far from home they lie,
No friend to shed a tear when passing by ;
O'er the mean tombs insulting Britons tread,
Spurn at the sand and curse the rebel dead.

This society, numbering between two and three hundred members, who must have resided in the city at least fifty years before being eligible to membership, have, at great expense, procured these names, and they have also caused plans and specifications of a proposed monument to the memory of these departed patriots to be prepared and forwarded to Congress, and procured the signatures of about twenty thousand citizens to the petition asking the Congress of the United States to erect the same over their remains.

The efforts of the society in this direction have met the universal approbation of the people and press of the country. The Board of Supervisors of Kings county, the Board of Aldermen of the city of New York, and the Legislature of the state of New York, have all passed resolutions, copies of which are printed herewith, commending the project and requesting Congress to grant the petition of the society.

The bones of these martyrs lie interred in a permanent tomb in this city, but without a mark of any kind to inform the stranger as to the nature and object of the structure, and it is the earnest desire of this society to remedy this defect and to endeavor to do tardy justice to the memory of those to whose firmness and patriotism we owe our liberties and the blessings of the good government we enjoy.

*To this pamphlet the following note was appended :

This pamphlet was not only sent to each member of two congresses in succession, also to every public library and historical society they could obtain their address in the United States.

In January, 1890, Hon. Felix Campbell introduced in the House of Representatives the following bill :

* We, the undersigned, a committee appointed by the Society of Old Brooklynites to place in alphabetical order the following names, certify we have done this with great care and they are a faithful copy of the original. And we further entreat the reader, from whatever part of our country you live, to make a copy of the petition of our society and have it signed by your neighbors, wives and children and send it to Congress, for you are as much interested as yours truly, Daniel T. Leverich, Diedrich Sanneman, Chas. C. Leigh, Frederick J. Hosford.

Digitized by Google

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars be . . . appropriated for the erection and completion of a monument to the memory of the victims of the British prison ships at New York during the war of the American Revolution; to be placed at Fort Greene, Brooklyn, state of New York; Provided, that the money appropriated as aforesaid shall be expended under the direction of the secretary of war, and the plans, specifications and designs of such monument be first approved by the secretary of war."

This bill was sent to the committee on military affairs. On July 17th Mr. Spinola reported from that committee an able paper and recommended its passage. Again the same bill went to the next Congress and was committed to the Library Committee, who made the following report: "A bill of similar import has been before Congress for several years, and was favorably reported to the House in the 49th, 50th and 51st Congresses. The facts in the case are well set forth in General Spinola's report to the 51st Congress.

This bill has been presented before four congresses in succession, favorably reported upon by the various committees, but it has failed to become a law, and the dark page of American history yet remains, showing the ingratitute of this republic towards those noble patriots who gave their liberty and lives to secure our independence.

But the Society of Old Brooklynites has no intention of giving up its cause. The bill is again (1894) before Congress, and has been printed and referred to the Library Committee.

The Society of Old Brooklynites accepted the invitation of the civic authorities to unite as a body in the procession and participate in the ceremonies on October 28th, 1886, for the inauguration of the "Statue of Liberty Enlightening the World." In connection with this occasion an address, prepared by Mr. Leigh, was presented to the French delegation by the Society.

The formal ceremony took place in the Hoffman House, in New York city, on the evening of October 30th. The address was read by Mr. Leigh, and the French delegation, in appreciation of the compliment, informed the Society, through Mr. Bartholdi, that it would be included in the proposed publication of the History of the Inception, Construction, Erection and Inauguration of the Statue of Liberty. The close of this address is as follows:

When France became a republic and she honored herself by elevating Laboulaye to the dignity of a senator, his thoughts still went over to the sister

Digitized by Google

republic. At his home in Versailles, this gifted man, we are informed, having at his table congenial spirits, conceived then and there the poetic and sublime idea of the figure of Liberty in colossal proportions erected as a pledge consecrating two powerful nations. A committee was created with M. Laboulaye as president, under whose strong appeals and wise direction, together with the gifted and talented Bartholdi, the statue was brought into being. We mourn the absence and death of that great, wise and good patriot. Though his body may sleep quietly in Père La Chaise, his soul will continue to glow and enlighten the nations of the earth in the ages to come, from the exalted height of that monument which his mind conceived and the hands and brains of the great artist, M. Bartholdi executed, and there it will remain for posterity as a pledge of that strong attachment existing between the two republics.

This address was signed by John W. Hunter, President; Samuel H. Haynes, Secretary; C. C. Leigh, A. H. Osborn, Daniel I. Leverick, James L. Watson, M. D. and William E. Sprague.

HON. CHARLES C. LEIGH.

Hon. Charles C. Leigh, Vice-President of the Society of Old Brooklynites, was born in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., December 25th, 1812. His parents moved to the state of New York, while he was an infant, and both died before he was twelve years old. For eighty-one years he has resided in this state, sixty-one years of that time in the cities of New York and Brooklyn, in busines as a merchant.

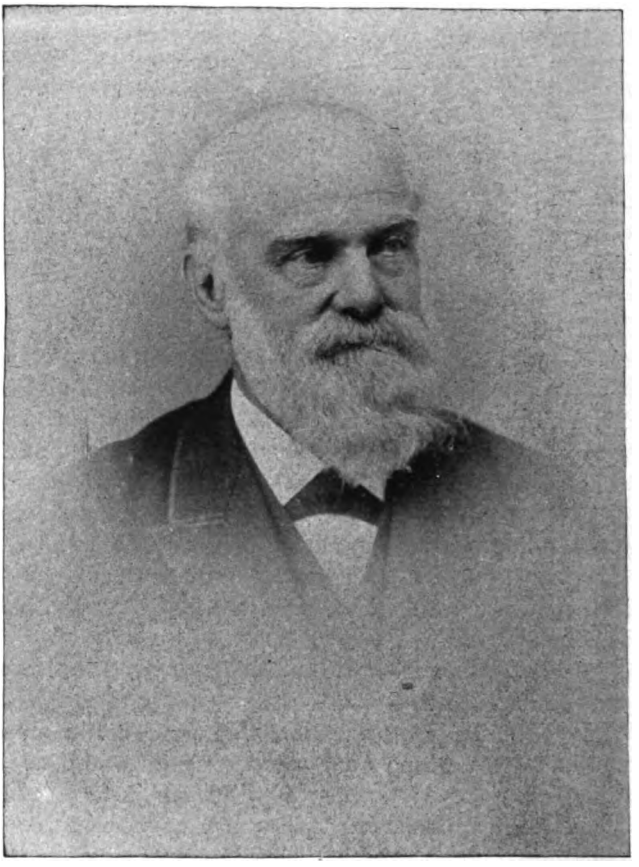
While residing in New York during the 1850 decade, he took an active part in the cause of temperance, and was elected president of the City Temperance Alliance, composed of one hundred members, five from each ward.

He was elected a member of the Legislature of the State of New York in the Seventh Assembly District, on the temperance ticket, opposed by both the Whig and Democratic parties. He was made chairman of the committee on temperance, which brought in a bill absolutely prohibiting within the state, the manufacture and sale of alcoholic liquor, except for medicinal, mechanical and sacramental purposes. This bill passed both houses, but was vetoed by Governor Seymour—and in turn the people vetoed him at the next election. Mr. Leigh was again returned and presented the same bill to the legislature, which was passed, signed by Governor Clarke, and the State of New York was numbered among the Maine law states.

But when slavery threatened to dissolve the union, and finally took up arms to destroy the government, Mr. Leigh, with others, laid

Digitized by Google

aside the subject of temperance as a political question, and became chairman of the general committee of the Republican party of the city of New York, and was a member of the convention which nominated General Fremont for President of the United States, and made him the leader of the new Republican party.



HON. CHARLES C. LEIGH.

He was an active member of that party through the war, and until the country was at peace. After failing to induce the Republican party to pass laws prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors, he left that party and became the first nominee for governor of the Pro-

Digitized by Google

hibition party in 1872, and again in 1881 was their nominee for mayor of the city of Brooklyn.

When the late civil war was in progress, large numbers of the slaves fled from their masters and took refuge within the lines of our armies. Mr. Leigh thought that the future treatment of these refugees was the great question of the hour, and that the country must decide what should be done with four million of slaves. They came in crowds, hindering the action of the army, poorly clad, and the government had to feed them. Mr. Leigh went to Peter Cooper, who gave the free use of his great hall for a public meeting. He invited speakers in sympathy with the cause. William C. Bryant presided, a liberal collection was taken up, and the following gentlemen were elected a committee to send relief where needed :

Stephen H. Tyng, Charles Gould, Charles C. Leigh, Francis G. Shaw, John W. Edmonds, Edgar Ketchum, William Allen Butler, George C. Ward, William C. Bryant, Benjamin C. Wandell, Manfield French, Joseph Collins.

This committee met on February 22d, 1862, and William Cullen Bryant proposed the following name: The National Freedmen's Relief Association in the City of New York.

Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., was chosen as president, and C. C. Leigh, chairman of the executive committee. Up to this time the ex-slaves were called "contrabands," now they were known as freedmen, the name proposed by our American poet, William C. Bryant.

The object of the association was, with the co-operation of the Federal government so far as attainable, the relief and improvement of the freedmen, and to teach them civilization and Christianity.

The government gave the association authority to take possession of abandoned plantations in the South to set the freedmen to work, and to give them all they could raise. Superintendents and teachers were to have the use of the abandoned dwellings, the government furnishing them with soldiers' rations and a free passage to the fields of their labor. The organization employed from two to three hundred superintendents and teachers, during the war, who received and distributed seed and agricultural implements, books and clothing, and schools were established, and four orphan asylums were filled with orphans.

The freedmen made great advances in civilization under such care during the war. Many of the scholars are now teachers, learned professors, clergymen and physicians.

Digitized by Google

A number of plantations are now owned by the freedmen who once worked on them as slaves.

To furnish the means to carry on this great work, patriotic and humane people contributed liberally, both in this country and in Europe, and contributions were even sent from the Parsees in Asia, the worshippers of the sun. All packages were, by direction of Mr. Chase, then secretary of the Treasury, entered free of duty.

Mr. Leigh took passage on board a government steamer bound for Newbern, North Carolina, but the ship was wrecked on the coast of North Carolina, at Bodies Island. No lives were lost and the passengers were taken from the island by a steamer sent by General Burnside, and brought to Newbern. The general, learning the business of Mr. Leigh, said, "Many thousands of these poor fugitives are here. I do not know what to do with them. We must feed them or they will starve."

He gave him the use of his steamboat and sent three of his aids to see their number and their destitution. Mr. Leigh visited Roanoke Island and other places and appointed a preacher for those on the island, Levy Pool, who continued to be pastor during the war. On his return he sent down a superintendent, who set the freedmen to cultivating the soil, and teachers who established many schools which continue to this day (1894).

In order to have access to the freedmen, the government gave Mr. Leigh free use of their boats, and access within the lines of the army was accorded him by a free pass from Secretary Stanton, reading thus:

"Transportation free. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War."

President Lincoln also endorsed him as follows:

"I heartily commend Mr. Leigh's object and bid him God speed in it. A. LINCOLN."

And General Grant gave him a pass which read:

"Pass Mr. C. C. Leigh through all the armies of the United States. U. S. GRANT, Lieut. General."

With this pass he traveled during the war, visiting the schools through an extended circuit, north and south, within the lines of our armies.

To carry on such an extensive work, more funds were required, and must be obtained. The association concluded that Mr. Leigh, as chairman of the executive committee, should go to Europe and appeal for help.

Digitized by Google

After obtaining testimonials of the highest character he went to London, and called first at the Wesleyan Mission House, where he was welcomed by the Rev. Mr. Arthur.

A meeting was arranged at Centenary Hall, at which Mr. Leigh spoke to a large assemblage for over an hour, and full reports were published in the papers. About this time the London Freedmen's Aid Society was formed. This organization gave him a cordial endorsement as follows:

As the accredited representative of the National Freedmen's Relief Association of New York, he is most cordially commended to the friends of freedom in our country. Having kindly arranged to act in concert with the London Freedmen's Aid Society, the committee are glad to avail themselves of his advocacy, and cordially commend him to the confidence and sympathy of the friends of the negro in this important crisis of the history of the colored race.

(Signed) T. FOWELL BUXTON, Bart.,
President of the London Freedmen's Aid Society.
SAMUEL GURNEY, M. P., Treasurer.
FRED. TOMKINS, M. A. D. C. L., Secretary.

Mr. Leigh also called on Lord Brougham, who wrote for him the following note:

Grafton, June 29, 1865.

I hereby commend to the sympathies of my countrymen the cause of the freedmen of the United States, and sincerely desire entire success to the efforts now making to educate them for the freedom to which the nation has called them.

BROUGHAM.

With such indorsements and recommendations he went over England, Wales and Ireland, pleading for help for the freedmen with great success.

He went to Germany, had his address and appeal translated into German and sent it to benevolent and Christian societies, and to the press in Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin, Frankfort-on-Main, and other cities, and founded societies with collectors and treasurers.

At Amsterdam, in Holland, he called upon Mr. H. M. Laboushere, the head of the great banking house of Hope & Co. This gentleman gave him the strongest support for his cause, arranged for a committee of twelve, to whom he gave Mr. Leigh letters, and through this assistance four cities of Holland sent through Hope & Co. large sums of money and clothing for the use of the freedmen.

Mr. Leigh then went to Paris and at once enlisted in his cause several influential people, notably Madame Coignet, a lady of culture and benevolence, and a writer of some eminence. It was found

Digitized by Google

after various consultations that a public meeting would not be permitted. An interview was finally arranged with the prefect of police who was much interested in the photographs of freedmen, which Mr. Leigh had with him, including women and children, some showing the marks of their scourgings. These were finally placed before the Emperor and Empress, and through the silent appeals of these pictures permission was accorded Mr. Leigh to hold his meeting.

The hall was crowded. M. G. Laboulaye, of the Institute, presided, and made a warm and spirited speech, followed by the American chaplain, Dr. Sutherland, and Mr. Leigh, and three French clergymen. But the speaker who made the deepest impression on the audience was M. Crémieux, formerly a member of the provisional government and one of the leading advocates of the Paris bar. In an impassioned part of his speech, addressing Mr. Leigh, he said: "France, in 1792 and in 1848, emancipated every slave in her dominions." Thus not only Paris, but all France, and indeed all Europe became acquainted with the situation of the freedmen of the United States.

While in Europe Mr. Leigh found that England, in granting a lease to the company that laid the Atlantic cable, had reserved the right at any time the secretary of state considered it best, to take possession of the cable and operate it in the interests of the English government.

With but one telegraph in working order between the two countries, news of the sudden rise or fall in stocks or bread-stuffs, known only to the one operator, would be a temptation to confine the news for a few hours or days, to the advantage of the few and to the ruin of many. Therefore, another cable from another state seemed to Mr. Leigh an absolute necessity.

In 1867, on his return, he applied to the legislature of the State of New York for the exclusive privilege of laying and operating a cable for twenty years, from this State to France, which was granted.

With this authority he proceeded to France and succeeded in forming a company, with a capital of five million of dollars, and a cable was laid between the empire of France and America, which is still (1894) in good order carrying messages between the two continents.

Mr. Leigh did not inherit wealth, but a hearty, vigorous constitution, from his ancestors. He has been a merchant in New York and Brooklyn for over sixty years. During all this time he has been an

Digitized by Google

active lay preacher, known as a local preacher, in the Methodist Episcopal church. At the ripe age of eighty-one years he still preaches the gospel, as he has done for sixty years, neither asking nor receiving pay. At this advanced age, when most men have long since rounded out their life work, Mr. Leigh is as active as most men at fifty.

HON. JOHN W. HUNTER.

Hon. John W. Hunter, the president of the Society of Old Brooklynites, was born October 15, 1807, in the village of Bedford, a few miles from the then village of Brooklyn, but now incorporated in

HON. JOHN W. HUNTER.

Digitized by Google

that city. His father was a farmer, born in New Jersey. On his mother's side he claims descent from the first emigrants from Holland. Mr. Hunter obtained his education in the neighboring common schools. As soon as his age permitted he was employed in a grocery store, where he rose by his own merits to a fine position as a merchant.

In 1833 he was married to Hester A. Strang. In 1835 he interested himself in the school system of his native city, and in 1838 was chosen a trustee, in which capacity he served for thirty years. He has been for years an active member of the Board of Education. He filled the important office of auditor for many years in the New York custom house. In 1866 he was elected to Congress, and was Mayor of the city of Brooklyn in 1874–1875. Since 1866 Mr. Hunter has been identified as trustee, secretary and treasurer of the Dime Savings Bank, and to his financial skill and his reputation for unswerving integrity, much of the success of that bank is due.

HON. DANIEL D. WHITNEY.

Daniel D. Whitney was born at Woodbury, Queens County, Long Island, January 31, 1819.

He was educated at the village school, and resided on his father's farm until he was eighteen years of age, when he went to New York city, where for two years he was employed as a clerk by Mr. Cornelius W. Lewis, in a grocery store.

In 1839 he moved to Brooklyn and became a clerk for Mr. Thomas J. Gerald, a wholesale grocer and commission merchant at No. 20 Fulton street. Four years later Mr. Whitney and his brother, the late John C. Whitney, bought out Mr. Gerald and continued the business under the firm name of J. C. & D. D. Whitney, and the business is still carried on under the firm name of J. C. & D. D. Whitney & Co.

Mr. Whitney was a member of the Board of Aldermen in 1859, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1868 and 1869, and in 1865 he was President of the Board.

He was acting mayor at the time of the assassination of President Lincoln, Mayor Alfred M. Wood being at that time in attendance at the raising of the flag at Fort Sumter.

Mayor Hunter appointed Mr. Whitney Registrar of Arrears, which office he held for several years.

Digitized by Google

In 1885 Mr. Whitney was elected Mayor of the city of Brooklyn and served for the term of two years ending with 1887. His administration was marked by many public improvements, and the debt of the city was reduced over four millions of dollars. He is president of the Hamilton Fire Insurance Company of New York, which posi-

HON. DANIEL D. WHITNEY.

tion he has held for the past nineteen years. He is a director in the Mechanics Bank of Brooklyn, and is a member of the New York Produce Exchange. Mr. Whitney has been for years a very valuable and honored member of the Society of Old Brooklynites.

Digitized by Google

When very young he connected himself with the Sands street Methodist Episcopal church, which outranks in age all other ecclesiastical organizations in the City of Churches, excepting the Dutch Reformed. They held their centenary services some ten years since. He has filled several important offices in that church, among them that of trustee. After selling the old church the trustees erected a very expensive edifice at the corner of Henry and Clarke streets, which is now known as the Sands Street Memorial Church. In politics Mr. Whitney has always been a Democrat.

JOHN MILTON STEARNS.

John Milton Stearns, was born in Reading, Vermont, December 13th, 1810; and is now therefore in his eighty-fourth year. Dr. Bond's "Ancient Inhabitants of Watertown, Mass.," traces his lineage from Charles Stearns, who with his uncle Isaac Stearns, emigrated from Nottinghamshire, England, and settled in Watertown, about the year 1630. Sheubel was the son of Charles, and Samuel, son of Sheubel, was the father of John M. Stearns' great grandfather, Thomas Stearns. The latter obtained a right of land, as the first male child born in the town of Sutton. He was born in 1717, and lived to the venerable age of ninety-four years. His son, Daniel, died of apoplexy, at the age of twenty-seven years, leaving two sons and a daughter; the sons Daniel and Paul Stearns, emigrated to Reading, Vermont, about the year 1796; being the second installment of emigrants settling in that town. Log cabins had chiefly disappeared and frame houses roughly boarded, with stone chimneys, had succeeded. In one of these houses the subject of this sketch was born. The old house was torn down in 1812, and a comfortable cottage farm house, was thereafter the homestead of the family. John M. Stearns was the fifth child born to Paul Stearns and Lucy Kneeland Stearns. When he was four years of age he began to attend a district school. The summer school was abandoned when he was about ten years old, for such work as boys learn to do about a farm. Two or three months in the winter limited the task of the schoolmaster, and such means of education were improved by our subject, till at about the age of eighteen, he thought himself equal to the duties of a country schoolmaster, and he played the pedagogue for the ten succeeding winters.

Digitized by Google

Being religiously inclined, he sought preparation for the ministry through the private instruction of a capable clergyman in a country town. Pursuing theological studies till he was licensed to preach in the autumn of 1835, by the Windsor Association of Congregational

JOHN MILTON STEARNS.

Ministers, he commenced his professional labors by supplying the vacant parish in Vershire, Vermont. The coming summer he supplied the church at Pittsfield, a gem of a rural town, overshadowed by the Green Mountains. He also supplied the Congregational church at Bakersfield, Franklin county, having previously married Emeline H. Adams, at Bethel, Vermont.*

He was an outspoken advocate of the abolition of slavery. It was singular that in liberty-loving Vermont, there was such fear of the freedom of speech on the subject of emancipation. So much so, that when the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society was asked for

* Mr. Stearn's first wife died in Brooklyn, in August, 1860, and he was again married to Sarah Jane Vanderverg, widow of George Vanderverg, counselor at law, in December, 1861. She died in April, 1887, and in August, 1889, he married Katie Vesper, of Thomaston, Maine. He had two children by his first wife, Helen Jane, now the widow of Homer A. Nelson, deceased; and J. Milton Stearns, Jr., a practicing lawyer.

Digitized by Google

a contribution to a church, negotiating for his labors, its secretary declared that no aid would be given to any church employing him. With his wife, he left Vermont and went to Norwich, Conn., teaching school there in the winters of 1836–8, and preaching at Bozrah, an antiquated Connecticut town, the coming summer. He then returned to Vermont; preached a few months in towns adjacent to Montpelier; and was ordained an Evangelist by the Montpelier Association, at Stowe, Vermont. He then settled with his family at Montpelier, devoting attention to the publication of a literary magazine, known as "The Green Mountain Emporium."

In the fall of 1840, Mr. Stearns and his family moved to Middlebury, where he became the editor and publisher of the "Middlebury Free Press," which claimed a democracy and human rights covering all conditions and colors of men. In six months this paper was discontinued, as well as "The Green Mountain Emporium," whose publication had also been removed to Middlebury. Afterwards Mr. Stearns, securing another press and printing materials, started the "Democratic Ploughman," which continued for about a year, leaving himself subject to a debt of about three hundred dollars. In the spring of 1844, he came with his family to the city of New York and settled in that part of the city of Brooklyn, then known as Williamsburgh, where he has since resided for fifty years. To meet the emergencies of the support of his wife and two children, he determined to accept any employment which promised their support. Using his experience in newspapers and printing, he became a walking broker to furnish commercial printing to merchants in business streets in New York, through which he passed, and canvassed for printing and the sale of stationery, books and bookbinding, realizing about $700 a year, out of which he supported his family, and applied a hundred dollars yearly to the liquidation of his debts in the country, till they were extinguished. In July, 1847, he became connected with the "Farmer and Mechanic," a weekly journal, devoted to agriculture, inventions and mechanic arts. At the end of the year this journal was sold, and he was succeeded as publisher by its purchaser. In the meantime he had conceived the idea of taking up the study of law, and having pursued this study for about three years, he was admitted to practice in March, 1849, at the age of thirty-eight, and has practiced law from that day until now. In addition

Digitized by Google

to literary work connected with magazines and newspapers he has published several books.*

In 1855, he received from Rutgers College, New Jersey, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and in January, 1890, he received from Iowa College, Grinnell, Iowa, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In the letter announcing this distinction, President George A. Gates, said: "This was done, I am sure you would be glad to know, with the hearty suggestion of many men, whose opinion of your worthiness to receive that distinction is of weight. We recognize by this act, not only your attainments in your chosen profession, which are not small nor few, but also that devotion to a high sense of morals and love of truth as you see it, which has led you to stalwart contention for liberty and truth, at the cost of unpopularity, in the history of moral reform in this country."

ALBERT HALSEY OSBORN.

Albert Halsey Osborn for many years vice-president of the Society of Old Brooklynites, and one of its most active members, was head of the law firm of A. H. & W. E. Osborn from its organization, in 1867, until his death, on March 11, 1889. He was born in 1810, in the town of Chatham, N. J., and while a small boy his father, David Osborn, took up his residence in Brooklyn, where he died. About the year 1842 he was elected and served for one year as alderman of the Seventh ward; at the expiration of his term, he not having been a candidate for re-election, a contest arose between the Whig and Democratic nominees for that office, and pending such contest and until the courts should determine which of the contesting parties was entitled to the seat, he held over. The contest not having been finally settled before the expiration of the term of office he continued to be alderman *de facto* for that year, and was subsequently nominated and elected alderman for that ward for the third term. Thereafter he served as comptroller of the city of Brooklyn when the city offices were located at the corner of Henry and Cranberry streets. In 1849, accompanied by eleven other adventurous

* Edward Walker published a volume of his literary productions in 1846, as a gift book or annual. In 1881 he published a treatise on "The Bible in Harmony with Nature," "Atheism Abnormal and Monstrous," "Spirit Life and Material Entities." In 1876, he also published an address entitled "The Puritan, a Character in History." In 1889, Banks & Brothers, of New York and Albany, published a volume entitled "The Germs and Developments of the Laws of England, Embracing the Anglo Saxon Laws Extant, from the Sixth Century to the Year 1066." Besides these works Mr. Stearns has been an extensive correspondent for numerous papers, magazines and journals; his writings consisting of travelling letters, essays and expositions in law, theology and morals.

Digitized by Google

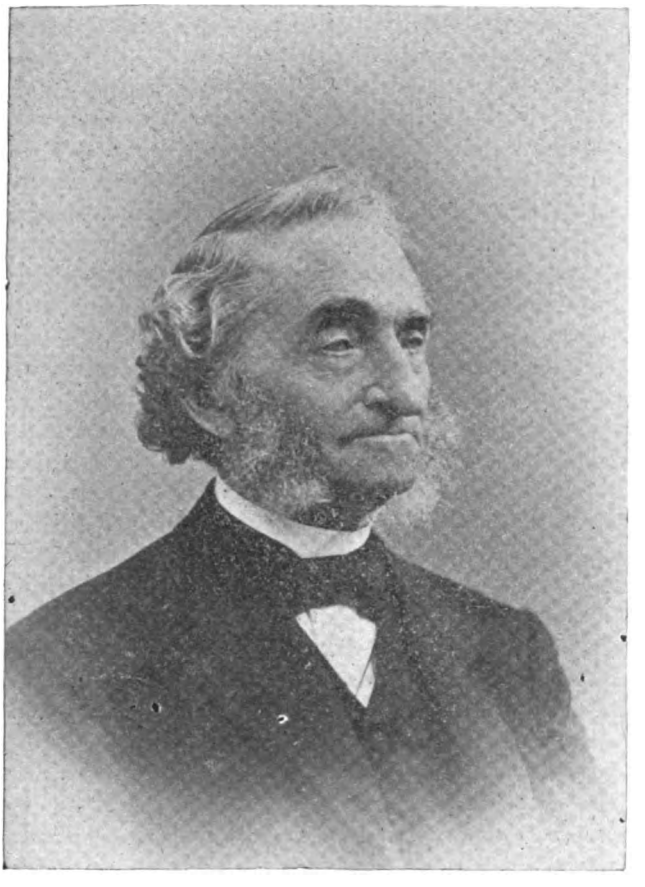
spirits, now popularly known as "Forty-niners," he started across the continent for California. The journey was made in wagons, or "prairie schooners," as they were termed, and occupied nine months, the party building their own bridges and making their own roads. Arrived in California he engaged in gold mining, employing those primitive implements, the pick, the shovel and the hand-cradle. Although fairly successful in his search for the precious metal, his ambition for larger enterprises and more favorable results led him to go to Mexico, where, at Acapulco, he acted as Assistant United States consul in the absence of the consul. Afterwards he returned to San Francisco, engaging in various enterprises, and returned to Brooklyn in 1852 or 1853. Among his enterprises in California and Mexico was the shipping of the first cargo of salt from Salina Island in the Gulf of California. After his return to Brooklyn he was in the corporation counsel's office with Roswell C. Brainard, and afterwards with Samuel E. Johnson. He was also in the comptroller's office while Ethan Esterbrook was comptroller. When the Nassau Water Company's works became the property of the city and its management was vested in a water board, Mr. Osborn was appointed secretary of that board, and remained some time after the water celebration in this city. He then became the clerk of the Board of Supervisors, which position he held until the beginning of the civil war, when Edward B. Cadley, the present incumbent, was appointed to that place. Business and professional engagements again called him to California in 1863, and after his return in 1867, in connection with his son, William Edwin Osborn, as partner, he resumed the practice of law under the firm name of A. H. & W. E. Osborn. He became a member of the Masonic order in 1860, joining Hohenlinden Lodge. He was also a member of Nassau Chapter, and of the Lodge of Perfection and of the South Brooklyn Masonic Insurance Association. He was active in the Society of Old Brooklynites and in the Long Island Historical Society, Tree Planting Society and the Brooklyn Institute.

A. D. MATTHEWS.

A. D. Matthews, founder and senior proprietor of the successful Brooklyn dry goods firm of "A. D. Matthews & Sons," has been identified with the business development of Brooklyn for more than seventy years. During this period he has seen the city expand from

Digitized by Google

a town of 12,000 inhabitants to its present great proportions. Mr. Matthews contributed his part toward this development, beginning business in the most unassuming manner, and growing with the growth of the community until he was at the head of one of the



A. D. MATTHEWS.

great dry goods establishments of the city. We quote Mr. Matthew's own description of his early life:

"I was born in the town of Hinsdale, Berkshire county, Massachusetts, on the 29th of April, 1809. My father, Thomas Matthews, was born at Yarmouth, Mass., in 1797. His father's name was

Digitized by Google

James, who removed to Berkshire county when my father was three years old. My mother was Lois Stowell, of the town of Peru, Mass. "My father's farm was small—only eighteen acres. But he hired eighteen acres besides, and paid the rent by building twelve rods of stone wall on it each year. My father was a very feeble man. We were poor. My younger brother James and myself had to work pretty hard to help support the family.

"When I was fourteen years old a friend of my father, Noah Dickinson, of Conway, Mass., asked that I might come and live with him; and on account of my father's failing health, and the likelihood that our family would soon be left to seek their own living, it seemed advisable to accept the offer. Accordingly, in the month of January, 1823, a neighbor loaned his horse for my father to ride. Thus we started early one morning, he on horseback with a small bundle of my clothes tied to the saddle and I trudging by his side. The snow was not deep and the walking was not bad, and at the end of two days' travel we reached my future home for the next five years."

During this period the boy worked all the year round on Mr. Dickinson's large farm, with the exception of a few months each winter when he attended the district school and acquired such education as he enjoyed. During the same time also he professed Christianity and organized a prayer-meeting with three schoolmates in a secluded pine grove. His consistent Christian career has been a marked element in Mr. Matthews' life ever since that time.

The five years of arduous farm labor resulted in breaking down Mr. Matthews' health, and after corresponding with his half-sister in Brooklyn he determined to set out for that place. Mr. Matthews thus describes the trip:

"How did I make the journey? There were no railroads, no steamboats. I must go by way of Boston, which was one hundred miles distant from the farm. I could walk, but my little painted trunk, containing all I had, must go too. However, a herd of cattle and sheep was about to start for Boston, and the drover, Mr. Sherman, agreed to carry my trunk if I would drive his flock. It was a difficult task, but gladly accepted. At Boston, a small weekly schooner was all that could be found to carry me to New York, and for this I had to wait four days. At length we started against fierce winds which brought a fearful sea-sickness upon me. My fellow passengers thought I could not live to reach New York, but the cap-

Digitized by Google

tain administered some remedy which greatly relieved me. The voyage took ten days, and the whole journey twenty-two days."

In Brooklyn Mr. Matthews secured employment with the leather firm of Van Nostrand & Tolford, then at No. 3 Front street, at a salary of $60 a year and board. He continued with the firm nine years. At the end of eight years Mr. Tolford, one of the partners, withdrew from the business, and the promise of a partnership one year later was made to the young man. The panic of 1837 intervened, however, and finding that Mr. Nostrand found it convenient to forget his promise, Mr. Matthews resigned.

Forming a partnership with John N. Hildreth, who for years had been foreman of Mr. Van Nostrand's tannery, Mr. Matthews proceeded to Sullivan county, where the young partners proposed erecting a tannery on their own account. But the financial help which they had counted on was not forthcoming, and the project was given up. They cut down a great deal of timber, however, and shipped the bark to Mr. Van Nostrand, until the freezing of the Delaware and Hudson canal stopped the traffic for the winter. Mr. Matthews then sold out his interest to his partner and returned to Brooklyn.

Mr. Matthews had married in 1833, his wife having formerly been a clerk in the dry goods store of Robert Pettit, No. 95 Main street. Upon his return from Sullivan county, she proposed that they engage in the dry goods business. Mr. Matthews was then ignorant of this business and doubtful of success, but finally acquiesced.

"After all my losses," says Mr. Matthews, "our capital was $500. Nevertheless, business had been nearly suspended by the panic, and we were thus able to purchase a considerable stock at auction. The store at 93 Main street was empty. It was in good order, with shelves and counters, and was offered at a rent of $5 per month. We hired it from the 1st of November till the 1st of May, and paid $30 for the term. Main street was then the best street in the village for business" From such a beginning grew the present large establishment.

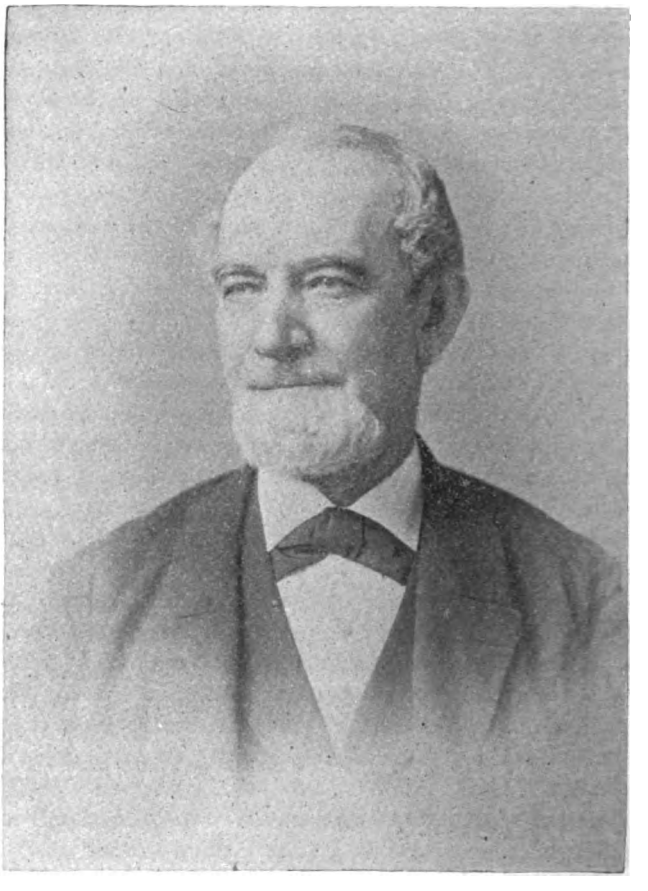
Mr. Matthews hasal ways been active in church work in Brooklyn. In 1833 he became a teacher in the Sunday-school of St. Ann's church, and retained his connection in one capacity or another until 1874. He was afterwards connected with St. Peter's Episcopal church and the Church of the Messiah, the changes being

Digitized by Google

made necessary by removal of the churches to inconvenient neighborhoods.

JUDAH BACK VOORHEES.

Judah Back Voorhees is the respected treasurer of the Society of Old Brooklynites. He cherishes great respect for the memory and noble deeds of his ancestors who emigrated from Holland many years ago.



JUDAH BACK VOORHEES.

He was born in Brooklyn, July 27, 1828. His father, Peter Voorhees, was a prominent builder in the city of Brooklyn, and with

Digitized by Google

his father-in-law, Mr. Peleg Back, built St. Ann's church and other fine edifices in the city. Mr. Voorhees was educated in the public and private schools of Brooklyn. At the age of eighteen he began the study of law with John B. King, but while a student he was appointed to a clerkship in the office of the clerk of Kings county, by John M. Hicks. During his administration as county clerk the office was removed from the old quarters, corner of Henry and Cranberry streets, formerly called the Apprentice's Library, to the great marble building, in 1848. There he served under Francis B. Stryker for three years, who promoted him to the office of deputy and clerk of all the courts of Kings county.

At the expiration of Mr. Stryker's term of office Mr. Voorhees accepted the deputy clerkship of Westchester county, where he served for nearly two years.

On January 1, 1855, Mr. Voorhees was appointed clerk in the surrogate's office in Brooklyn by Rodman B. Dawson, which position he occupied for thirty-five years until January 1, 1891, when he was compelled to resign by constant application to business, resulting in loss of eyesight from working by gas light. He had served the people in a public capacity for forty-six years.

During Mr. Voorhees incumbency the probate of wills increased from 60 per annum to 1,200, and letters of administration from 130 to 1,900.

In the earlier years of Mr. Voorhees' life he was a member of the Brooklyn volunteer fire department, serving as a member of Brooklyn Engine Company, No. 17. He is also a member of the veteran association of the Thirteenth Regiment, having served as a private for four years in Company C of that regiment. He was promoted to paymaster on the staff of General Jesse C. Smith, of the Eleventh Brigade, in 1862.

Mr. Voorhees is still a member of the Brooklyn Volunteer Fire Association. He is a director in the Mechanics Bank of Brooklyn and the Brooklyn City Safe Deposit Company. He is a life member of the Long Island Historical Society and of the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. He is also a member of the Holland Society of New York and formerly one of its vice-presidents. He is assistant secretary of St. Nicholas Society of Nassau Island.

Mr. Voorhees, in conjunction with others, published a monthly paper in 1846, called the *Excelsior,* which continued for one year.

Digitized by Google

He has visited Holland and other portions of Europe and some of the West India Islands, and has prepared several interesting papers on his travels, which have been read before the Society of Old Brooklynites. He has read other papers also of a more local character, among them one entitled, "Our First Common Council;" another, "Brooklyn Fifty Years Ago," and another "Two Hundred Years Ago," "The Memorial of John Van Duyne," and "Reminiscences of the Clerks and Surrogates of Kings County." One paper he published, on "Defalcations," has been extensively published and circulated by the trust companies of Brooklyn and New York. He is still active and occasionally practices in the Surrogate's Court, of which he was the honored clerk. In his earlier days he was a member of St. Ann's Sunday school, of which A. D. Matthews was superintendent.

GEORGE W. BERGEN.

George W. Bergen has been an active member of the Society of Old Brooklynites for fourteen years. His genial, good natured countenance and his wise sayings give him always a hearty welcome in their monthly gatherings. He was born in Gowanus, July 20, 1814, and holds in the highest estimation his Holland ancestors, for what they suffered and for what they accomplished for freedom and the rights of man.

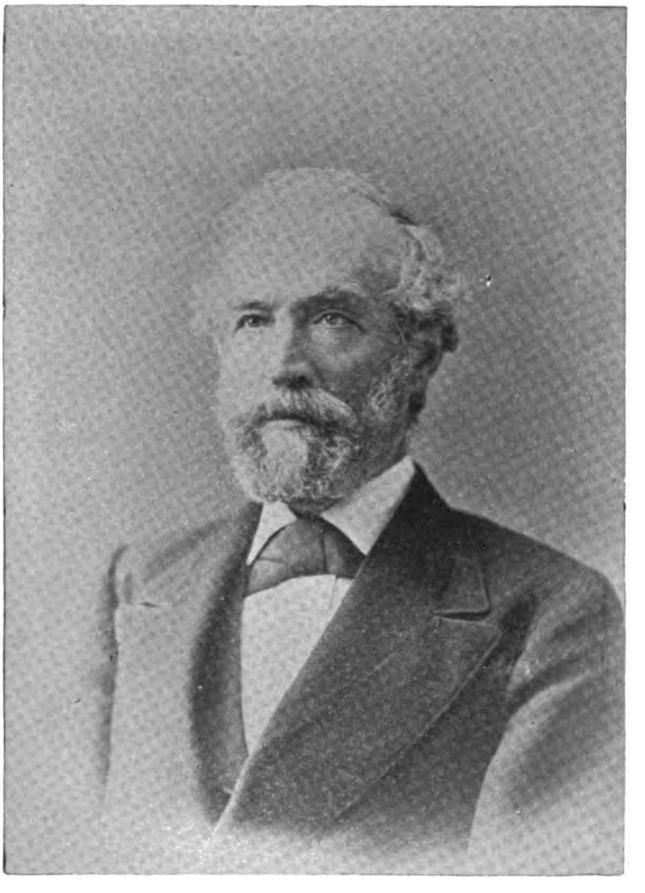
In his early childhood he was a farm laborer, obtaining such education as he could by reading and by conversing with those who had received greater advantages. In 1831, at the age of sixteen, Mr. Bergen began a long and successful mercantile career. He entered the store of Thomas Carman, of Brooklyn, as a clerk, where he received a training which has been most valuable to him in subsequent years. In 1832 he was in the grocery store of Daniel T. Schenck; a few months later with Henry G. Cornwell, and then with Joshua Rogers, and in 1836 he formed a co-partnership with his brother, John Bergen. In all these years he was diligently training his mind by study, and becoming more accomplished as a business man.

After dissolving co-partnership with his brother he went to Vicksburg, Miss., but after eighteen months he returned to Brooklyn, and in 1838 entered the firm of Carman, Valentine & Co., wholesale

Digitized by Google

grocers, which for many years past has been known as Valentine, Bergen & Co.

This firm is recognized as one of the oldest and staunchest mercantile firms in the city, and enjoys a widely extended patronage.



GEORGE W. BERGEN.

Mr. Bergen is a Republican, but does not take an active part as a politician. Though solicited to take office at the hands of his fellow citizens he has usually declined. He was, however, elected treasurer of Queens county in 1872, and served to the satisfaction of all citizens, regardless of party affiliations.

Digitized by Google

In his religious belief Mr. Bergen favors the usages of the Congregational Church. During his residence in Brooklyn he was officially connected with Plymouth church. In 1869, when he removed to Freeport, Queens county, he identified himself with the Presbyterian church at that place. In 1874, Mr. and Mrs. Bergen erected, at an expense of $5,000, a memorial chapel at Freeport in memory of the latter's mo her, in whose honor it is known as the Elizabeth Carman Memorial chapel. This was presented to the church for the purpose of a Sunday school and the weekly meetings of the church. It is a beautiful structure, Gothic in style, with stained glass windows, and it is hoped it may long stand to the honor of its donors, as well as its memorial subject. On July 19, 1838, Mr. Bergen married Susan, daughter of Thomas Carman, of Hempstead.*

* They have had four children—Elizabeth C., Charles M., George P. and Anna Valentine.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JUL 19 1935

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google